

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 16, 1878.

The Week.

THE Senate has passed a bill to distribute awards under the Mexican Convention of 1868, making special exception of two claims whose fraudulent character is pretty evident, and which must at least undergo fresh investigation. It has also passed the Indian Appropriation Bill, and, on Friday, the bill repealing the Bankrupt Act. This last, on its recommittal to the Senate by the Judiciary Committee, failed to be sustained in the point fixing the date of operation as January 1, 1879, for which September 1 proximo was substituted, and the bill again delivered to the House. On Monday an attempt was made to attach a Brazilian steamship subsidy to the Post-Office Appropriation Bill, or, in other words, an engagement to pay for direct mail service under the American flag a hundredfold what is now being paid for the same service under the British flag. Mr. Blaine, fresh from his advocacy of protection at the Permanent Exhibition, boldly stood by the stars and stripes; but as good Republicans as he, and better lawyers, and some of the leading Democrats, opposed the measure, both intrinsically and as being against the rules. Under the latter view, the amendment received its quietus on Tuesday, after which the bill was passed. The Tariff debate was resumed in the House on Wednesday, and Mr. Kelley got the floor on the following day in opposition to the bill. On Thursday the House passed a communistic joint resolution, making eight hours a day's work, and ordering this construction of the Eight-Hour Law to be observed by the Departments. But the Supreme Court, on appeal from the Court of Claims, has decided brutally that for eight hours' work only eight hours' pay is due.

On Monday the long-threatened attack on the President's title was begun, and under the best auspices, for Mr. Clarkson Potter headed it, and the Speaker by previous agreement admitted his resolution as of "privilege." This parliamentary term is so elastic that the burden of proof appears to rest with those who deny its applicability on any given occasion. The Republicans accepted it with considerable success. Mr. Potter's ground that his resolution was based on the memorial of a "sovereign State" (Maryland) was shown, we think, by Mr. Garfield to be irrelevant, but Speaker Randall held fast to it, and was sustained on appeal by 128 to 108, almost a strict party vote. The resolution recited the contents of the Maryland memorial, McLin's Florida confession, and the charge of fraud in certain parishes of Louisiana, and provided for a select committee of eleven to investigate the alleged frauds in both these States, with authority to send for persons and papers, and to report at any time. The power to report was cut off by a point of order raised by Mr. Conger, and then Mr. Hale endeavored on behalf of the Republicans to amend the resolution so as to include all cases of fraud in any of the States. Mr. Potter declined to allow this even to be read, and insisted on the previous question, whereupon the Republicans, denouncing the movement as intended for party campaign uses, left the House without a quorum, and proceedings abruptly terminated. On Tuesday the same performance was repeated, and the Democrats went into caucus to brace themselves up for the struggle, however prolonged it might be.

The Democrats are displaying their usual want of discrimination in their management of the affair. If they do not, as they say, enter on the investigation with the view of ousting Mr. Hayes, they are entering on it with the view either of making party capital for use in the fall canvass, or for providing a basis for legislation to prevent frauds

in Presidential elections hereafter. In either case it is folly to refuse the Republican offer to make the enquiry general. If it is plainly undertaken with the view of bringing odium on the Republicans, it will not do much good in the canvass; while if it is undertaken in order to get information for changes in the electoral law, all frauds, no matter by whom committed, and whether in Louisiana or Oregon, ought to be examined, both in order to secure Republican co-operation and in order to make the new plan, whatever it be, effective. In fact, the McLin and Dennis "confessions," just as they stand, would be better things to go before the people with than a huge mass of testimony taken in an avowedly partisan inquisition. The confessions are simple, neat, and comprehensible, while it will be impossible to get the result of the investigation before the public in any digestible form. In the meantime the excitement of the Democratic editors over the "moral aspect" of the matter increases.

Mr. Stanley Matthews's "name having been used in connection with the (Second Ohio) District," he writes to a friend that he will under no circumstances consent to be a candidate. He is doubtless making a virtue of necessity, but that the virtue is a genuine article there is no sort of doubt. Mr. Matthews is an able lawyer, and, we believe, an estimable citizen, but his entrance into political life and sudden assumption, on his own motion, of the functions of a Minister of Finance was, we have no doubt, a suggestion of Satan. Mr. Matthews was no more fitted to tackle financial questions than to take charge of the Coast Survey, and his wrestlings with them, during his brief term in the Senate, was something which nobody but the enemy of mankind could witness without pain. His single phrase about "not caring for abroad" revealed immense ignorance of the very elements of trade and finance. That a roaring, ranting ignoramus like Logan or Voorhees should put himself in such a position would not be surprising or depressing; but that a man of Mr. Matthews's standing and cultivation should do it makes the future of the race look dark.

The community is indebted to Mr. Frank Gowan, of Pennsylvania, for the vigorous assertion of the law which has led to the execution of eleven "Mollie Maguire" murderers within the last year—probably as salutary a lesson as could possibly have been given to the ignorant and lawless men with whom the mining region abounds. The news comes now, however, that all trouble is not yet over, and that a new organization called the "Knights of Labor" has been formed, which is said to number about 200,000 men in the whole State, most of them foreigners, and is, like all secret societies, producing more or less uneasiness. The constitution, which has found its way into print, is harmless enough, and, indeed, differs little from the platform of the National party: it is in the working of it that the mischief will appear. After the usual denunciation of the rich, it proposes to bring "every department of productive industry within the folds of organization"—whatever that may mean—and to "make moral worth, not wealth," the standard of individual and national greatness: a very important undertaking, if it can be carried out. After this comes the usual plan of securing somehow a more equitable distribution of the products of labor and capital, and the provision of health and comfort for the whole working class, including leisure for "intellectual enjoyment" and a sufficiency of pocket-money issued directly by the Government without the intervention of banks.

On the other hand, the communistic movement seems to have received a serious check in San Francisco, where it has been most formidable, by a split in the ranks, the majority, both in numbers as well as in other things, having deposed Kearney from the leadership, for "insanity, Caesarism, and corruption"—all grave offences. He probably precipitated his ruin by his savage attacks on the

Catholic clergy, who have not minced matters in denouncing him and his followers, and who, in fact, have been behaving admirably everywhere with regard to these anti-social movements and organizations. Kearney had an interview with the Archbishop before his overthrow, at which he requested the prelate "to mind his own business," to which the latter replied by a depressing anecdote of his early experience in California—how he went to bed one night leaving San Francisco apparently very quiet, and on waking up in the morning found the streets filled with armed men and a poor fellow like Kearney hanging to a lamp-post. Kearney has the satisfaction of knowing, however, that during his reign he depressed the price of real estate or made it unsaleable, seriously interrupted business, and caused the banks to curtail their loans. This is something of which a half-cracked drayman living in a busy, civilized community may well boast.

The first State "Nationalists" Convention, in preparation for the coming elections, assembled on Wednesday in Philadelphia, embracing some two hundred delegates. The Committee on Credentials had to decide between contesting delegations from Philadelphia, and concluded to admit all the labor delegates and ten of the greenback—among the last, Mr. Henry Carey Baird. When candidates began to be nominated, a resolution was introduced and carried pledging the Convention not to nominate any person (except for the judiciary) who had not "totally severed all connection with either of the old factions known as the Democratic and Republican parties." This broke the "slate" prepared by the chairman. The resolutions adopted resembled the complexion of the Convention itself: nothing was excluded that presented itself, and there was no editing of the hotch-potch to give it harmony and consistency. They propose "that the hours of labor should be so limited as to afford the laborer an opportunity to cultivate his mental faculties, and enjoy rational, social intercourse with his friends," and generally to improve his condition; and to this end the following reforms are declared necessary: (1) prohibition of the prison contract system; (2) lowering the rate of interest on money, "by the Government issuing free legal-tender money sufficient for the wants of trade, and regulating its value and its volume by wise and judicious legislation"; (3) protection through "a tariff based on Constitutional limits for revenue"; (4) bestowing public lands on actual settlers, and not as subsidies; (5) constructing works of national importance; (6) encouraging shipbuilding; (7) founding postal savings-banks; (8) repeal of unconstitutional charters and special (State) privileges; (9) Granger regulation of rates of transportation; (10) immediate repeal of the Resumption Act; (11) equal and just taxation of all property whatsoever; (12) payment of Government bonds in lawful money. A final resolution condemns violent measures and advocates peaceful resort to the ballot. The resolutions by implication define the "producing" interests as the manufacturing, mining, farming, and laboring. A conspicuous figure in the Convention was John Siney, a leading demagogue in the coal districts.

The reform newspapers have been occupying themselves a good deal during the past week with the proceedings of Mr. Hamilton Fish, jr., at Albany. They say that his career this winter has been a "failure," and that he has, by entering into a sort of alliance with the Tammany politicians, by refusing to do anything about the Municipal Amendments, and, finally, by reading a prosy speech on what is called the "bonded indebtedness" measure, shown himself to be "no statesman." We have always taken a great deal of interest in this gentleman's career, because it may be justly considered a typical one. Mr. Fish belongs to a class—the growth of which the newspapers from time to time do what they can to encourage—that of young men of education and position and good family who "attend to their political duties," go to the "primaries," and do what they can to qualify themselves to understand the "mechanism of government." Mr. Fish has done

this for a number of years, and with gratifying results. He has risen steadily to his present position, which is that of chairman of an important committee; and he was talked of at the opening of the Legislature as a candidate for Speaker. We have therefore examined the charges against him with care. The important part of the charge is that he has acted with Tammany, and neglected the Municipal Amendments. Now, it is well known that Tammany Hall and Mr. Conkling's friends have made a little arrangement by which the municipal offices at the next election are to be divided by John Kelly, and the Legislature is to be carried by the Republicans. The carrying of the next Legislature by the Republicans means the re-election of Mr. Conkling to the Senate; and it is well known, too, that both Mr. Kelly and Mr. Conkling are opposed to the Municipal Amendments—the former on the ground that they are designed to "rob the poor man of his vote," and the latter because they are "a trap." But Mr. Fish's political future depends altogether on Mr. Conkling. Instead of being misled by the "dyspeptic" reform talk of the newspapers, he has, with what strikes us as considerable sagacity in so young a man, seen from the first that the "mechanism of government" was in the hands of Mr. Conkling; and he has steadily acted in that gentleman's interest. As long as Mr. Conkling's interests and those of Reform do not interfere with each other, he is for Reform; when they do, he is for Mr. Conkling. Instead of being a "failure," we think his career has been a remarkable success; and if Mr. Conkling and Mr. Kelly carry the day next fall, we think it safe to say that Mr. Fish will be a very prominent candidate for Speaker.

As to the treatment by the Legislature of the Municipal Amendments, the impression has been created that the committee having this subject in charge has neglected its duty and not properly pressed the matter on the attention of the Legislature. This is a mistake. There was no real necessity for the Committee to press the matter at all, as the duty of taking up the Amendments rested with the Legislature itself, and these had already been passed by one legislature. But the suggestion that the Committee failed to do its duty is a mere pretence. The facts are, that three months ago the Committee of Fifty appointed two sub-committees, one to endeavor to persuade the Governor to recommend action in his message, the other to do whatever was necessary to urge the matter on the Legislature; that both committees set to work at once; that the latter committee early in the session had interviews with prominent politicians at Albany, who gave them to understand that a hearing on the subject was not desirable, and that the Amendments would be taken up at the proper time; that, trusting to these representations, the Committee waited till they were satisfied that the promises were not honest, and then made application in writing for a hearing some two weeks before the end of the session. The Committee received a reply saying that a day would be set for the hearing; but no further notice of the application being taken, telegrams were sent reiterating it. Then at length a day was set; but when the Committee appeared, after being put off for two or three hours, they were begged to be short, as the senators and representatives wanted to go to tea, and profound regret was expressed that the application had not been made earlier. On the hearing a very good argument for the submission of the Amendments to the people was made by Messrs. Sterne, Peckham, and Olin; but the Committee had, of course, no idea when they went to Albany that any attention would be paid to what they said. They knew, what seems to have been overlooked elsewhere, that Conkling "tipped the wink" to the Legislature on the subject of the Amendments weeks ago.

The sales of U. S. 4½ per cent. bonds were sufficient during the week to enable the Syndicate to anticipate their August and September options for \$10,000,000; this they did on the 14th, making \$35,000,000 of the bonds taken by them since April 11. The demand for gold to settle bond subscriptions has advanced the price to 100½ and 100¾. Foreign exchange has been weak, and has fallen

nearly one point below that at which gold coin can be profitably exported. In London U. S. bonds have been strong, and prices have advanced; British consols and Russian securities have also advanced. Silver has been weak at $53\frac{1}{2}$ d. to $53\frac{1}{2}$ d. per ounce. The bullion value of the silver dollar at the close of the week was \$0.9049.

The London *Economist* makes an interesting contribution to the literature of the Silver question by discussing our proposed international bi-metallic conference. The little fellows of the Latin Union, with whom we are trying to throw in our lot, and among whom the position of a country like this is ridiculous—such as Greece and Switzerland—have accepted the invitation, and, with their aid, the *Economist* thinks the Conference may have “a brief existence,” but will never reach “a healthy infancy.” The important question, What is France likely to do? has probably been answered in a letter from M. de Parieu, the chief author of the Latin Union, to the Spanish Minister of Finance, in which he says that, if what the United States seek is “international conversations” on bi-metallism, economic truth would doubtless gain by them; but that “if America invites us to an absolute rehabilitation of depreciated silver, in order to gain us over as customers for the metal she produces, may we not suspect the possibility of being her dupes?” He then goes on to point out if a nation has a double standard “the depreciated money will reach it from every side; it is the discredited metal only which will come to fill its mints.” The unhappy old man has evidently not read the report of the Jones Commission. Worse still remains to be told. M. Charles Le Toujé, one of the leading French authorities on this question, writes to a Bordeaux paper, declarerling that the heavy silver coinage has so gone out of favor in France that the only chance the Latin Union has of prolonging its existence lies in the adoption of a single gold standard. On the other hand, M. Leroy Beau-lieu says there are not now more than \$240,000,000 of five-franc pieces in France, of which the Bank holds \$100,000,000, and that of these it would have to retain about \$60,000,000 for subsidiary coinage, so that the demonetization of silver would only throw about \$180,000,000 out of circulation. How the Chicago and Cincinnati sages will laugh over this.

The Emperor William was fired at twice on Saturday last, while driving in the Unter-den-Linden at Berlin, by a tinsmith named Hoedel, who was arrested at once, and appears to have been an active member of the Socialist organization, though its organs, of course, repudiate all responsibility for him or sympathy with him. He declared at first that he meant to kill himself, in order to illustrate the sad condition of the people under the existing social régime; but this version he does not persist in. The attempt has called out unbounded demonstrations of loyalty and affection from the people of Berlin, with whom the Emperor is very popular. But it has also excited or greatly intensified the feeling of dread and detestation with which the Socialistic movement begins to be regarded, and is bringing the band of professors and theologians who, a few years ago, tried to found a new school of political economy, and became known as “Katheder-Socialisten,” into considerable odium. Their teachings threw the responsibility of the condition of the working classes on the Government and “Society” in a very marked degree, and were a kind of protest against the *laissez-faire* theory; and they seem to have flattered themselves that the followers of Bebel and Karl Marx would fall into line under the leadership of scholars and gentlemen, and society would be regenerated by the aid of the historical method. The late attempt of the clergy to “capture” the organization, of which we gave an account a fortnight ago, and which the Socialist brethren met with blasphemy and obscenity, was an outcome of the professorial movement, and its lamentable failure, coupled with the Hoedel attempt, will probably put an end to the alliance between Kultur and Nihilism.

General Todleben made an attempt during the week to frighten the Turks into giving up Varna and Shumla and Batum by threatening to occupy Constantinople, and they apparently agreed

to do so on his consenting to retire to Adrianople. This arrangement was disavowed at St. Petersburg, however, and he was directed to hold his present position firmly; and indeed the force at San Stefano has been greatly strengthened. The Turks, therefore, refuse to give up Varna and Batum, but are reported to be ready to surrender Shumla, which is weakly garrisoned, and is of little value since the Russians cut its communications with Varna. Austria is, in the meantime, playing her old waiting game. Prince Auersperg, in the Reichsrath, said her position remains unchanged; that the interests of Europe are her interests, and that she will defend them, and other vague matter; and both he and M. Tisza, the Hungarian Minister, deny all intention of occupying Bosnia by way of spoil, or withdrawing any portion of Turkey from European jurisdiction as her share. There are still rumors, however, and they seem more probable, that she will occupy Bosnia pending the settlement, by way of securing her own frontier and delivering herself from the crowd of turbulent fugitives from the province which are now on her soil and living at her expense.

Everything in European politics seems to be waiting on the result of Count Shuvaloff's mission from London to St. Petersburg, about the nature of which there is little but conjecture. The most probable supposition, and the only one to which the attitude of the British Ministry gives any support, is that England has at last communicated through him to Russia what her desires or expectations about the problem really are, and that Russia having now something to say yes or no to, besides the form of submitting the Treaty to the Congress, there is some chance that the two principals in the controversy may come to an understanding. Shuvaloff's interviews with the Emperor have been strictly private, no one being present except the correspondent of the New York *Herald*, without whom, if we may judge from the news in that paper, they never go to business, and in his presence the Czar said that “he was not disposed to yield a single point to England, and that he was willing to take the chances of a protracted war.” In fact, thus far Shuvaloff has not, according to the same authority, made the slightest impression on the mind of his master, who is bent on battle. Shuvaloff is, however, going to keep at him. The Shuvaloff mission is likely to exert an unfavorable influence on the Hartington resolutions about the employment of Indian troops, inasmuch as if peace is secured the subject will lose most of its interest, while if war seems certain the public excitement will be so great that the Liberals will probably again recoil from any attempt to embarrass the Ministry.

The introduction of the Indian troops into Europe without the knowledge or consent of Parliament is exciting increasing attention in England, and Lord Hartington, on behalf of the Opposition, has given notice that he will shortly move a resolution that no forces can be raised or kept by the Crown, except in India, in time of peace and without the sanction of Parliament. What gives the matter a serious air is that if Indian troops can be brought to the Mediterranean on a mere order of the executive, they can be brought to England, and, although there is no likelihood of anything of the kind at present, the mere exercise of the power in the present case would establish a precedent under which the king might maintain a large army in Europe without a vote of the House of Commons. The occurrence, too, is startling in another way: the British army has in nearly every European war been aided by mercenaries; it has generally during the last century had a small German Legion in its ranks, and has usually had foreign auxiliaries. But if Lord Beaconsfield is allowed to carry out his gorgeous dreams, there is a strong likelihood that a purely British force may find itself before long for the first time acting as an auxiliary to a large army of mercenary troops in British pay, which in case of victory would claim the larger share of the honor. People begin to ask themselves what the effect of this on British prestige in Europe would be, and how the Indian troops would feel and act after they got home, after beating white soldiers in the open field. It is a brilliant stroke, doubtless, to convert England suddenly into one of the great military as well as great naval powers of Europe, but it is setting people thinking.

THE SOURCES OF COMMUNISM.

THE reports of the social and political disturbance wrought by the Nihilist agitation in Russia are curious reading to those who remember the serene indifference with which Russian writers and politicians watched the perplexities of other countries over the labor problem in the eventful years between 1848 and 1860. At that time it was their theory that owing to the peculiar land system of Russia, and particularly owing to the institution known as the *mir*, or village community, which prevented the growth of a proletariat, she would never be troubled by the Red Spectre which was frightening France out of her wits, and was, they believed, destined before long to shake the British Empire to its centre. North Germany was, a very few years ago, supposed to be in the enjoyment of similar immunity, owing to her schools, her military system, and the sober and phlegmatic temperament of the people; but she is now nearly as much alarmed by the spectre as France used to be, and France has reached a repose which may be, after all, only temporary, by wading through torrents of French blood. There is not a statesman in the Western World, in fact, who is not at this moment puzzled and even alarmed by the discontent of that vast body of persons who live by the daily labor of their hands. It has been all but demonstrated that no traditions, or training, or peculiarities of position or government are sufficient to keep the Socialistic devil out. All the "modern improvements" seem to help him. He passes the sea and the mountains with the telegraph and the steamer, and makes as much use of the printing-press as either Church or King. He has his newspapers, his tracts and missionaries everywhere, and his vicious roar may be heard all over the Western World from the Ural to the Rocky Mountains. The worst of it is that no means of coming to terms with him has as yet been discovered. He cannot, apparently, be bought off, because after giving him what he wants Society would have nothing left. When the old Sinner, in the 'Lives of the Saints,' sold himself to the old Devil, he always got something for his soul—that is, he was allowed a certain period of enjoyment of certain pleasures before he surrendered himself. But the Red Spectre offers nothing and asks for all. The rich man is called on to strip himself of his riches; the frugal man of his savings; the able man to treat his ability as an incumbrance; and the whole community, as a community, to give up all it loves and glories in. Smoking is to be allowed at funerals, and men and women are to mate in the streets. Children are to go to the foundling hospital. Whatever power there is anywhere is to be lodged in the hands of the most stupid and incapable. The lazy are to lie on their backs and the industrious to get nothing for their industry.

The cause of this extraordinary and widespread outburst of insanity—for so it must be considered—will probably be more thoroughly studied than it has ever been before, now that it is perceived to be an epidemic from which no country or social system is safe, instead of being, as was long thought, a vagary peculiar to France, and it is only from a study of the causes that a remedy will come, if remedy there be. When one makes even a slight examination of the seeds of Socialist doctrine, one is surprised to find how many of them lie in the political and democratic doctrines which have been preached ever since the French Revolution, by progressive people of all classes, mostly with but little thought of where they would lead us. In the first place, the assumption that the numerical majority is all-wise, and ought to be all-powerful, on which all modern democracy rests, makes it difficult or impossible to put any limit on the experiments which the numerical majority may try. It has a right to make mistakes if it pleases, and where outside of it is the standing place to be found for arguments against the expediency of its edicts? Who are you, that you are so much wiser than the rest of the community? is a question which the philosopher who argues about "justice," when he has once committed himself to the democratic theory, finds it difficult to answer. In the next place, contentment, which occupied a very high place among the virtues, and was taught in the churches as a Christian virtue for seventeen hundred years, and particularly contentment with one's station in

life and worldly surroundings, has been tacitly repudiated even by social and religious conservatives. Discontent is now taught in all the schools as a virtue of a very high order. You are not to be satisfied with the station in which you were born or with the work you are doing, unless you are at the head of some large organization, a church, an army, a state, a warehouse, an insurance company, or a railroad. You are to strive continually for fame and wealth; or, in the language of plain people, for the position of "boss" of some "job." Every boy in Europe and America has this now dinned into his ears from his fifth year upwards. As the demand for "bosses" is, however, very limited, the immense majority are very much disappointed before they reach middle life, and try to find explanations of their failure which will not wound their self-love. The readiest one is the rottenness of society, and the richness of the field it offers to trickery and greed.

Thirdly, the modern system of industry brings large bodies of poor laborers in contact with great masses of wealth, and by employing them indoors stimulates the passion for speculation on the causes and incidents of their condition, and on the springs of society in general, which used to be mainly confined to shoemakers. More attractive materials for a demagogue, or a better field for the spread of crude social themes, than the population of a great manufacturing town have never existed. Agriculture, or any muscular employment in the open air, keeps down mental activity and strengthens the love of routine, for much the same reason that it makes a man sleepy in the evening; but working under cover, at trades that call for dexterity rather than strength, seems to give the brain a morbid energy which finds relief in imaginary rearrangements of society.

It must not be forgotten, too, though it perhaps cannot be put down among the direct causes of socialism, that "the achievements of science," in increasing our powers of material production, coupled with the incessant boasting of scientific men and philanthropists about what science may yet accomplish in the future, have filled the working-class mind with fantastic dreams as to the possibility of machinery displacing manual labor, and enabling the race to multiply *ad libitum* without inconvenience. Consequently, when population follows close on the increase of production, as it has done, on the whole, even during the past fifty years, and the poor still continue poor and anxious, they begin to suspect some trick or fraud on the part of the capitalist. They are undoubtedly better off than their grandfathers, but they have still to toil and deny themselves, and see the rich enjoying their wealth in greater numbers than ever. This same agency also conceals from them that great fact of sociology—perhaps the greatest of all—that the earth, do what we will with it, will probably never afford much more than a subsistence to the great mass of mankind—that is, plain food and plain clothing. The race, by ceaseless toil and endeavor, throws some of its members up above want or anxiety about daily bread, and gives a few leisure to keep its records and add to the stores of its knowledge, but they are only a handful after all. The notion that by some little device the world can be peopled with what are called "ladies and gentlemen," which is at the bottom of all socialism, springs from an immense delusion about the bountifulness of Nature. This notion, too, is stimulated by much of the teaching of the pulpit and press about the perfectibility of man, which when it becomes current in workshops and mines undergoes curious distortion, and begets a strange impatience. The preacher usually means that one thousand or ten thousand years hence man will be refined, polished, cultivated, at ease in his circumstances, and noble in his life and aims, and able to dispense with the coarse or police side of government. This dream, which seems so attractive in the student's library, puts on a very different shape among the real sons of toil. The laborer does not care much whether posterity is "perfect" or not; he wants to have a taste of perfection himself, and is irritated by all attempts to postpone the great consummation. One cannot say, of course, with any certainty how these difficulties will be met, but it may be affirmed with confidence that during the next fifty years the character of instruction and preaching on all social questions will change

greatly, though perhaps very gradually, and that considerably less responsibility will be imposed on governments and more on the individual man than during the last fifty years, and that when a human being begins to conduct himself like a wild animal the plea of unhappiness will not be so readily accepted in his defence.

THE SENATORIAL VIEW OF THE REPUBLICAN POLICY.

DURING the past two years or more, attention has been frequently called to the failure of the Republican leaders to provide any definite platform or plan of action for their party. They have admitted in numerous speeches and "interviews" that the party's future was clouded, and that it was desirable that it should "rally" and "unite"; but what it was going to rally against or unite on was not explained. Some of the most prominent Republicans are agreed that the President's policy is not a success; that it has broken up the party for the time being; that civil-service reform will never do; and that "conciliation" means a base surrender to the Solid South. They are agreed, too, that the Democrats are just as bad as ever, and that no third party has any chance in the present state of politics. They have, moreover, announced on many occasions that they have plans of their own for reuniting the party and leading it on to victory; but hitherto they have refrained from communicating the exact nature of these to the public, thinking, apparently, that in politics confidence is not a plant of slow growth, and that they have only to let their new platform be known to have the party at their backs in full force again. From recent indications, however, it seems that they have at length determined to throw aside all reserve and unfold their designs. The last number of the *North American Review* contains two articles by leading Republican Senators, giving a sketch of the present position and future policy of the party. These articles are all the more valuable because they have been drawn out by an attack of Mr. Julian's, in a preceding number of the *Review*, in which he described the party as being engaged in a "death-struggle." Mr. Julian's attitude towards the party, it is needless to say, is critical and despondent.

The reply to this article, the author of which belongs to the class variously known as "idealists," "doctrinaires," or "dyspeptics," as their discontent is believed by the political class to spring from the head, the heart, or the stomach, naturally divides itself into two parts—the first a refutation of the charge that the Republican party is "in its death-struggle," a task undertaken by Senator Howe; the second a description of the new platform now in process of construction by its leaders, this being the work of Senator Angus Cameron. Mr. Howe, as those know who have read his late speech on Mr. Schurz, is a master of irony and satire, and nothing can be better than the ingenious turn by which he produces at the outset, on his reader's mind, the impression that it is not the Republican party but himself and Mr. Julian who are engaged in a death-struggle. Mr. Howe goes into an examination of the history of the Republican party and brings it down to the adoption of the new Constitutional Amendments. Down to this point he considers Mr. Julian's course consistent and patriotic; but after the adoption of the Amendments he shows that Mr. Julian deserted the party and is now a traitor. He is a traitor because the work of the party is not yet done. He says it is; but Mr. Howe points out that it is not; because, though the Amendments have been adopted, the Democrats are not in sympathy with them, and will not protect the negro if they come into power. We have examined this part of his argument with a good deal of care, because it is here that the dispute seems to hinge, and we have looked to see what the Senator thinks the Republican party can now do for the negro. It must not be supposed that he has not examined this subject carefully. He has found something in the way of protection for which the Republican party is needed. The Constitution provides that State and United States officers "shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support" the Constitution, and it may be inferred that if they do not take the oath, they will not carry out its provisions for the protection of the negro. But what, he says, if the Democrats

come in, and the oath is not taken? Who is to see that it is taken properly? Who is to administer it?

But Mr. Howe's main business is with Mr. Julian's treason. To the statesman treason is always a fascinating subject. If the political speeches of the last twelve years could be examined for the purpose the public would be surprised at the number and variety of traitors this country now contains. But Mr. Julian goes beyond them all. Language fails for a description of them, and Mr. Howe is obliged to invent an epithet and set him down as "politically a unique," and what sort of a person a "unique" is may be guessed from Mr. Julian's reckless behavior about the New York Custom-house. We have often observed that this institution is a sort of political touchstone. When a man, after bearing for years of the abuses that go on within its walls, walks up to it, looks it calmly over, and, after an examination of its manner of working and some of its staple products, turns round and enquires quietly what there is to complain of, he may be set down as a true man; but if he gets excited over it and denounces it, it is safe to assume that he is meditating some act of treason. Now, Mr. Julian allowed himself to indulge in language concerning the New York Custom-house which we should not think of repeating, but which was, to say the least, strong, and he suggested that investigation into its operations was "spoiled by whitewash." Now, says Mr. Howe, Mr. Buckingham, of Connecticut, was at the head of the investigating committee, and if Mr. Julian accuses him "of having concealed official guilt," he has nothing to fear for this world, for Mr. Buckingham is no longer living; and hereafter he will be tolerably safe too, for after such slander there will be little chance of any meeting between the two in the next world—an insinuation which leads us to infer that Mr. Howe takes the same view of Mr. Julian's prospects hereafter as that taken by the clergyman in the story, who, on being asked where So-and-so was, replied, "If he were dead I could tell you." There are things in recent politics which Mr. Howe confesses an inability to deal with. The Cincinnati movement of 1872 is one of these. "We are," he says, "too near that event. We cannot outline it. We do not appreciate it. We are dazed by the din and glamour of the great pretence." "But," he thoughtfully adds, "History will laugh."

Like Mr. Howe, Mr. Angus Cameron begins his article with one or two propositions calculated to carry the reader with him. It is in politics, he says, as it is in nature—"there is 'action and reaction'; there is ebb and flow." Not even a Democrat can deny this, and yet it is pregnant with meaning. Mr. Cameron having established this as the basis of his argument, gives an instance of "ebb and flow" in the alternations of the light of noon-day with the darkness of the eclipse. Mr. Cameron is fond of metaphor. He declares that he is not alarmed at the dissensions in the Republican party; that these are "the mere flotsam and jetsam thrown up by the self-moving Gulf-Stream of Republican Destiny"; the people, he goes on, are rulers here; "leaders are no longer necessary." "Men die," he continues, "or fall out of line, or desert to the enemy"; but it is all one with the people; "no ambition sways them, no reverses discourage them"; the only man fit to be the "ruler" of a republic is he who has "no policy of his own." Charles L. tried having a policy, but his attempt is only noteworthy as a "startling illustration of the tragical element that lies hidden behind the mask of the ludicrous." Calhoun, it seems, tried it too.

No one can doubt, Mr. Cameron continues, that the Republican party has been the party of progress. It has freed the slaves—and with what result? Only this: a Solid South—"a war-chariot armed with disciplined and exultant soldiers," without which the party would be "a feeble faction, a moral night-seavenger's cart, laden with the offscourings of Tipperary civilization." He does not say that the South should not rule solely because its leaders were traitors. That he considers a sufficient reason, for "magnanimity becomes imbecility; manly forgiveness becomes eunuchal sentimentality; Shakspeare becomes a Tupper, when it is contended" that condonation of treason involves the rule of the traitor.

Having disposed of this branch of his subject, Mr. Cameron ap-

proaches his second division, and asks, "Can the leopard change his spots?" To this he replies with considerable force that "the negative of this question would seem to be supported by the greater weight of human testimony"; and if the leopard cannot, can the Democrat or Southerner? He then proceeds to "call up in review one or two only out of scores of important issues still undecided," to see whether the correct decision is more likely to be reached by Democrats or Republicans. The first of these is civil-service reform. This, he shows, was invented by some "literary men," though he does not specify whom. He makes short work of their hollow pretences by a novel argument. "Every inventor," he says, even of a mouse-trap, can secure protection for his mechanical skill in almost every civilized country. Yet Longfellow and Emerson "cannot protect their productions one mile beyond the limits of the country." Are men of this sort fit to deal with practical questions of administration? "Do the literary class marvel that national legislators do not pay a swift homage to their political suggestions?"

Having thus disposed of civil-service reform, he shows that the question of the national debt can only be dealt with by the Republican party, because the Democrats do not mean to pay it; that, if not repudiated directly, the South means to repudiate by bankrupting the Treasury by means of Southern claims, and so on. But this part of the article is not new; it was to be met with in most of the campaign speeches summer before last. We have turned over with interest the pages of Mr. Cameron's article to see what he has to propose for the future. He certainly does provide a new platform, and it is this: The Republican party, he says, "will endure just as long as it worthily represents the principles of Progress." What are these principles? the reader may be inclined to ask. Do they involve States rights or Federal centralization, free-trade or protection, direct or indirect taxation, anti-sectarian or sectarian education? On these matters Mr. Cameron maintains a strict silence. "The Principle of Progress," he says, "or, to use the newer word, of Evolution," is what we want. So long as we stick to that, and so long as we are "confronted by an organization hostile to every phase of human development, whether in the individual or the state or the nation; an organization whose ideal leader is a political Columbus with his eyes in the back of his head—sailing American waters under the American flag, but ever seeking with a longing unappeasable for a southwest passage to the lost but loved Laurentian seas of our antediluvian world," we are safe. Henry Wilson "could see no reason why the Republican party should not endure a thousand years," and Mr. Cameron says that he thinks "the Vice-President was right." We have endeavored not to exaggerate or misrepresent Mr. Howe or Mr. Cameron. "Progress and Evolution" may strike "dyspeptics" as a rather vague party cry; it is less definite even than the bloody shirt; but it has the advantage of being comprehensive, and the man who can say he is opposed to both Progress and Evolution in the coming campaign can be only fit to be led by a political Columbus with his eyes in the back part of his head.

PROFESSOR JOSEPH HENRY.

IF Mr. Galton's researches on hereditary genius were supplemented by equally careful ones on cases of genius which appeared to be entirely sporadic, we might find an exhibit yet more striking than that with which he presented us. It is certainly worthy of note that the man who, during the present generation, has exerted the most enduring and widespread influence upon the progress of American science, is not known to have had a blood relation of intellectual prominence. His ancestry is unknown, and his parentage offers no features of interest. Even the year of his birth is in doubt—some authorities placing it in 1797, and others in 1799 or even later. His father died when the son was still very young, and his mother before he grew up. A parish library supplied him with boyish reading, and his earlier tastes were in the direction of romance and the drama. He was nearly grown when the accidental possession of a copy of Robinson's "Mechanical Philosophy" turned his thoughts towards natural philosophy and led him to seek a scientific education at the Albany Academy. Here he made himself so good a name as to be taken into the family of the Patroon in the capacity of private

tutor. Failing physical health led to his spending a year as a civil engineer in the western part of the State. He returned home with a robust constitution, which never failed him throughout his long life. He declined further lucrative employment in the same capacity to accept the more congenial position of a professorship at the Albany Academy.

It was while a professor at Albany that he commenced the brilliant series of researches in electricity on which his purely scientific reputation principally rests, and which culminated in the discovery of the principles of the Morse telegraph. If we compare the poverty of his apparatus and the poverty of his means for research and publication with the importance of the results which he reached, we may accord him a place by the side of Faraday as an experimentalist. He became the sole discoverer of one of the most singular forms of electrical induction, and was among the first, perhaps the very first, to see clearly the laws which connected the transmission of electricity with the power of the battery employed. One of the problems to which he devoted himself was that of producing mechanical effects at a great distance by the aid of an electro-magnet and a conducting wire. The horse-shoe electro-magnet, formed by winding copper wire around a bar of iron bent into the form of a U, had been known before his time, and it was also known that by increasing the number of coils of wire greater force could be given to the magnet if the latter were near the battery. But when it was removed to a distance the power was found to weaken at so rapid a rate that the idea of using the electro-magnet for telegraphic purposes seemed hopeless. Henry's experiments were directed toward determining the laws of electro-motive force from which this diminution of power resulted, and led to the discovery of a relation between the number of coils of wire round the electro-magnet and the construction of the battery to work it. He showed that the very same amount of acid and zinc arranged in one way would produce entirely different effects when arranged in another, and that by increasing the number of cells in the battery there was no limit to the distance at which its effects might be felt. It only remained for some one to invent an instrument by which these effects should be made to register in an intelligible manner, to complete the electro-magnetic telegraph, and this was done by Morse. Henry himself considered the work of an inventor as wholly distinct from that of a scientific investigator, and would not protect the application of his discoveries, nor even engage in the work of maturing such applications. He never sought to detract from Morse's merits as the inventor of the magneto-electric telegraph, but did on one occasion, under legal process, give a history of the subject which was not favorable to Morse's claim to the exclusive use of the electro-magnet for telegraphic purposes. Some feeling was thus excited; but Henry took no other part in the controversy than to ask an investigation of some charges against himself contained in an article of Morse's.

In 1832 Professor Henry was tendered the chair of Natural Philosophy in Princeton College, a promotion which he accepted with great diffidence. The change was accompanied with a great increase in the means of continuing his researches in electricity. He found congenial society, a large and appreciative circle of listeners, large additions to his supply of apparatus, and a scientific society glad to publish his researches. Heretofore his publications were mostly confined to papers in *Silliman's Journal*. The Transactions of the American Philosophical Society now afforded him room for much more extended memoirs, and enabled him very soon to acquire a European reputation.

In 1837 he visited Europe and made the acquaintance of Faraday, Wheatstone, Bailey, and other eminent physicists, discussing with Wheatstone their projects for an electric telegraph. He returned to his lectures with the zest and vigor acquired by this exchange of views with men of like pursuits with himself, and held his place as the foremost of American scientific teachers until 1846, when he was called to an entirely different sphere of activity.

Ten years before, Congress had accepted by a solemn act the curious bequest of James Smithson, made to the United States in trust, "to found at Washington an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The will gave no indications whatever as to the details of the proposed establishment, and long consideration was therefore necessary before the Government could decide upon its organization. It was not until 1846 that a definite plan of organization was established by law. When this was done, Professor Henry was at once looked upon as pre-eminently the man to be the principal executive officer of the Institution. He accepted the position with "reluctance, fear, and trembling," upon the urgent solicitation of Professor Bache. To describe what he did during the thirty years of his connection with it would be to write the history of the Institution. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to some

episodes of a special interest at the present time, hoping to revert to the subject of its general management upon a future occasion. From the beginning two different views of the proper direction in which the energies of the establishment should be devoted have been entertained. There was a scientific party which held that the operations of the establishment should be confined strictly within the limits prescribed by the donor, and in the sense in which he himself, as a scientific investigator, would naturally have construed his own words—in fact, that it should be entirely an institution for scientific research and publication. Another party was desirous of giving it a larger scope and wider range, including literature and art as well as science. These latter views were naturally entertained by the men who framed the plan of organization. Accordingly we find that the act alluded to provided for a capacious building, with suitable rooms or halls for the reception and arrangement upon a liberal scale of objects of natural history, for a library, gallery of art, and lecture-rooms, and for the reception and exhibition of "all objects of art and of foreign and curious research," of objects of natural history, and plants and geological specimens belonging or hereafter to belong to the United States, which may be in the city of Washington. The new secretary, of course, sympathized entirely with the scientific party, who considered most of these objects as foreign to the proper purpose of the Institution, and the expenditure of money upon them as contrary to the expressed intention of the donor. An acrimonious controversy thus arose, resulting in the retirement of a large minority of the Board of Regents and several of the assistants of the Institution. The whole policy of Henry was directed towards diminishing as far as possible the expenditure of the Smithsonian fund upon the library, the building, the museum, and art-gallery, by having these several objects provided for in other ways. He got the library removed to the Capitol and deposited in the Library of Congress, and the art-gallery superseded by the Corcoran Gallery of Art. The impropriety of charging the Smithsonian fund with the support of the Governmental collections was so obvious that Congress has for several years provided for the maintenance of the National Museum, as it has now become, in connection with the Institution. He aimed at a complete separation of the Museum from the Institution; the Government leasing the building for the use of the former, while the latter should find more modest and appropriate but less expensive quarters. This project, however, he did not live to carry out.

Henry was, of course, the authority most frequently and regularly consulted by the Government on all questions which arose involving applications of science or of scientific principles. His greatest services to the Government were rendered as a member of the Light-House Board, a position which he held from the time the Board was organized. His principal duties were at first to enquire into the various methods of illumination, and especially to test the oils proposed for this purpose. Of late years he began to investigate the subject of fog-signals, which led to a very extended series of experimental researches on the causes which influence the propagation of sound through the air, and which sometimes render it inaudible at comparatively short distances. These experiments were mostly published in the annual reports of the Light-House Board.

The idea of using the telegraph for communicating the weather reports originated with Professor Henry, and was put in operation at the Institution at an early period of his connection with it. Visitors of that period will recall the large map of the United States which hung in one of the public halls, on which the state of the weather at many points of the country was indicated by marks pinned to the map. In accordance with his life custom, as soon as another department was found ready to continue any of his researches with a prospect of success he turned them over to it without any reserve except that of receiving due credit. The subject of meteorology was, in 1871, left by him to the Signal Office.

The whole course of Professor Henry was marked by an elevation of character entirely in keeping with his intellectual force. Placed in a position where the temptation to lend the use of his name to commercial enterprises was incessant, he so studiously avoided every appearance of evil that the shadow of suspicion never rested upon him. His services to the Government in many capacities, especially in that of member of the Light-House Board, where his experiments saved it hundreds of thousands of dollars, were entirely gratuitous. His salary was paid from the Smithsonian bequest, and he never asked the Government for a dollar on account of his services. An elevated but genial humor, a delicate poetic taste, a memory replete with anecdote, a refined, intellectual face, and an impressive bearing made him one of the most valued members of the intellectual society of Washington. One of his most remarkable

traits was the entire absence of personal feeling against those by whom he felt himself wronged. His address to the Board of Regents asking an investigation of charges brought against him by S. F. B. Morse, the celebrated inventor of the electro-magnetic telegraph, was such a model of elevated sentiment, and breathed such purity of feeling, that no one in reading it could doubt the result. Like most men of his kind, he was averse to controversy, and we believe never took the slightest part in any of the disputes with which his name was sometimes associated. As secretary of the Smithsonian Institution he is entitled to the enduring credit of preventing a permanent misdirection of its activities, and this of itself will earn him the gratitude of men of science in generations to come.

Correspondence.

THE AMERICAN COLLEGE AT BEIRUT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : The reviewer of Dr. Hamlin's "Among the Turks," in the *Nation* of March 7, refers to the "American College" at Beirut, Syria, but, while speaking well of it, makes a statement which will convey a very wrong impression concerning it. Since this institution was founded by some of the leading men of New York, and the funds for erecting the various buildings here and for endowing the professorships were given mainly by New York merchants, you will allow me to correct such an impression.

The reviewer says "there is great difficulty in finding suitable textbooks, and the students, being instructed in no foreign language, are thereby cut off from still further improvement," and more to the same effect. The college here was established to be an "institution where native youth may obtain, in their own country and language, a literary and scientific education." The instruction from the first was given, therefore, in Arabic. But the students have *never* been in the position of "being instructed in no foreign language." English and French are thoroughly taught, the former through a six-years' course, the latter four years. The reviewer may have had the medical department in mind when he wrote what he did, and in that department English is not taught, at least at present; but one of the conditions of admission to the study of medicine is that the applicant "has studied English, French, or German, and passes an examination in one of those languages." At first, the medical students came to us from without the school and knew French, but now the majority of these students come from our literary department and English is the language best known.

It is but just to add that experience is teaching us more and more that no "further improvement" is made after graduation unless English or French has been well learned. We see this so clearly that we are extending our course of instruction in English, and are now teaching Chemistry, Physics, Geology, Modern History, and Moral Philosophy through the medium of the English.

The college is, of course, unsectarian, though not un-Christian, and numbers among its students Protestants, Catholics, Greeks, Druzes, and Moslems. Regular morning and evening prayers are attended by all, and a Sunday preaching service is attended by the boarders.

Yours truly, EDWIN R. LEWIS,

SYRIAN PROTESTANT COLLEGE, BEIRUT, SYRIA, April 18, 1878.

TURGENEVE AND HIS TRANSLATORS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : The reprint of Mr. James's essay on Turgeneff gives a suitable occasion for a word about the translations of this author's works. The only ones to be heartily recommended are the German published by Behre at Mitau. They are the author's copyright, and may be depended upon as containing the *whole* of the originals, given with all the fidelity that could be expected of the heavier, more-involved German in dealing with the direct, crisp Russian. It is a great pity that the earlier edition of Janke of Berlin has been the medium by which so many persons have obtained their first knowledge of Turgeneff. At a mark a volume one has no business to ask for exactness, but the cutting was a little too wholesale which, for instance, reduced "Smoke" ("Dunst") to hardly two-thirds of the original. Turgeneff's master-hand is shown in nothing so much as in his perfect sense of proportion. This cutting and compressing destroys all that. One might as well reduce a Meissonier or a Turner by cutting out an inch-strip here and a hand's-breadth there,

The French have not done so much better, for they too have often left out long passages, the omission of which completely disturbs and falsifies the relative positions of the characters; nay, it almost reverses the order in which the artist has placed them in the planes of his picture. I have before me a French sketch of Russian contemporary literature, an accepted authority, which describes "Smoke" as "a love-affair with a married woman," without the slightest hint of the earlier betrothal, the essential circumstance which gives the whole force to the well-nigh tragic story. But, turning to the translation, one is not so much surprised, since the condensing of the first third of the book has altered the perspective completely. Potughine and Litvinoff are no longer in the foreground, as in the original, but Irena herself. Without the correction of the French by the original or by the "Rauch" (Behre), the storm which raged against the author, the anathemas hurled upon him by both the Slavophile and the Occidental party, are incomprehensible. Russian social questions may not have the same interest in Paris or here that is awakened by the intensely passionate drama of the romances, but Turgeneff, whether artist or man, is not Turgeneff apart from them.

I have said the German is too heavy, its construction too involved, for the Russian. The French, though light and fine, is still less adequate to express the wonderful vividness and picturesque variety of the Russian. Since the translators had at the outset the difficult and inevitable condition, to render the fullest of modern languages in that which is the narrowest, one might have expected of them a most persistent attempt at exactness and literalness; but so far from that, there is always a preference for general terms, an aim at something that seems to be a curious idea of "finish," according to some supposed standard, all which ends in a copy wherein the lines are faint, the colors dull and dead, the action tame. Taking up this same "Smoke" at random, I find an instance like this: It is a moment of no less importance than the first appearance of Irena in the story, on the staircase of the hotel at Baden. The French reads:

"Une dame de haute taille, avec une courte violette sur son chapeau, le descendait; en apercevant Litvinoff, elle s'arrêta comme frappée de la foudre. Elle rougit et pâlit; Litvinoff ne la remarqua pas; elle descendit rapidement l'escalier."

The Russian, as literally as I can render it, is:

"A tall, stately lady, in a hat and a short black veil, with light, soft grace was descending the same stairway, and seeing Litvinoff, turned towards him and stopped as if overpowered (struck still) with surprise. Her face in an instant flushed, and then as quickly grew pale, under the close-woven lace; but Litvinoff did not notice her, and the lady, more lightly and softly than before, went on down the broad steps."

Perhaps the saving of space in the French is enough to supply a plausible motive for this condensing, but how are we to account for the omission of the closing words of Neshdanoff's letter to Marianna in the last chapter of "Nov"? The French reads "Adieu, Marianna, adieu!" The English follows that in "Farewell, Marianna, farewell!" The force of the Russian word itself is unattainable; for though it is the common word of parting, yet that is not, as with us, a wish for others' welfare, but a direct personal appeal for pardon for any pain or trouble given. It is commonly supposed to have passed into ordinary speech from its use by the dying. Since, then, so much of the pathos of the original must inevitably be wanting, how extraordinary that the closing words, "My pure, untouched one," should have been *left out*. I am assured that the word for "untouched" would bear without forcing the rendering "immaculate," but I prefer to leave the original figure. The light thrown by those simple words upon the much-discussed question of the relations of Neshdanoff and Marianna in those last weeks of his life makes their suppression almost a wilful violation of facts.

Nearly all the English translations have been taken from the French, and, of course, adopt all these alterations in form and perspective, while the style suffers a further depreciation from the tendency to use the Latin side of our language in translating from the French, and so departing more and more from the vigorous and vivid definiteness of the original. Our English is the one adequate language for translating Russian, both from the similarity in directness of construction and the fulness of vocabulary it derives from its double parentage. One need know no language but English to feel the superiority of Mr. Ralston's "Lisa" ("Une Nièche de Gentilshommes") over all the other translations. It is a pity to have to put at the other end of the scale Mr. Schuyler's "Fathers and Sons." While the French have altered the form, Mr. Schuyler has falsified the tone, the atmosphere. The whole book is belittled and "vulgarized" by

the ignoble touch. Imagine a great drama played with all the perfection and grace of the Français, and then put it into the hands of the stock company of one of our second-best theatres, and the difference is not greater than between Turgeneff's "Fathers and Sons" and Mr. Schuyler's. The baldest literal translation of the scene in Bazaroff's death-chamber would be ample proof of the justice of this criticism.

All the criticism upon Turgeneff known in this country has been based upon these imperfect translations. To Mr. James, "Smoke" is the story of "the baleful beauty who robs Tatiana of her lover"; Bazaroff's claims are "brutal"; Turgeneff is himself a hopeless pessimist, scarcely different from the crowd around "the Russian tree" at Baden. There is more and better and deeper than all that, more than there is space here to analyze. In the dim, blurred picture that is all we get: only the stronger lines, only the tragic lights and shadows remain; the softer, tenderer half-tones are lost. The style, too, as essential to the force and the truth of the work as to its beauty, we have scarcely heard of. Turgeneff's style is as well worth study as Goethe's. Clear, simple, and perfect in measure, it renews for us the hope that it is even yet possible to embody the intense situations of modern life in the statuesque beauty of the antique.

CLARA B. MARTIN.

BOSTON, April 30, 1878.

THE REISSUE OF LEGAL TENDERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Cincinnati Central Club of the "National Party of the United States," at its meeting in this city on the 29th ult., passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That Judge Hilton, of this city, a member of this club, be requested to enquire of the New York *Nation* the authority for its statement in its issue of 18th ult., p. 256, 'that the Supreme Court of the United States had denied the right of the United States to reissue legal-tender notes in time of peace'; and that Judge Hilton make such statement of the decision of the Court referred to, for publication in the *Nation*, as truth, the dignity of the subject, and the immense interests involved to the Government and the people require."

In compliance with the above, this communication is addressed to you, in order to provoke investigation and probe this matter to the bottom, and we therefore hope you will deem it worthy of publication and of editorial notice in your widely-circulated and influential paper. Certainly the gravity of the subject at this particular juncture, when the Secretary of the Treasury is about to reissue (or proposes to do so) as a circulating medium the legal-tender notes which he may from time to time redeem in coin under the Resumption Act, requires this investigation. The Secretary thus aims to give the notes the highest possible character the Government is capable of giving; particularly so should Congress also authorize them, at his suggestion, to be received in payment of duties on imports.

In your article, on p. 257, you say:

"If he (Secretary Sherman) means to reissue the greenbacks, he ought in decency to ask Congress that they may be deprived of their legal-tender character and allowed to circulate for what they are worth as Government promissory notes. It is exceedingly doubtful in any case whether his reissue would be accepted as any thing more than this, and whether the courts would hold them to be a legal tender."

The above suggestion would be like the play of "Hamlet" with the part of *Hamlet* left out by special request. It is what Chief-Justice Chase, in his dissenting opinion, after the war was over, urged, as a plea for their unconstitutionality, that the legal-tender property did not add to their value. This could only excite a smile, for without it they would have totally depreciated. As there was no coin in the country, there was nothing left to circulate as legal tender, or pass as money from hand to hand in payment of the immense business transactions of the country. That salutary principle engraven upon it, and which really makes it money, has survived all the vicissitudes of war and peace. It was potent then, and it is still more potent now. Without it those notes would have been no better, if as good, as the national-bank notes, which are not money but a mere promise to pay money, and not a legal tender. The others are, as declared by the law creating them, both lawful money and a legal tender—an immense difference—and thus endowed with totally distinct and substantive qualities.

This brief statement is all that is required on this point. I now address myself to the question which is fundamental and lies at the bottom of this whole discussion. Has the Legal-Tender Act of February 25, 1862, been pronounced by the Supreme Court of the United States con-

stitutional, a power which may be brought into requisition in peace or in war at the discretion of Congress? If the Supreme Court has so declared, it is the supreme law of the land, and must be so everywhere held and enforced, until repealed or altered by the same power that enacted the law. Justice Strong, in the opinion of the Court, 12 Wallace, 520, says:

"There may be a difference in the effects produced by the acts and in the hardship of their operation, but in both cases the fundamental question—that which tests the validity of the legislation—is, Can Congress constitutionally give to Treasury notes the character and qualities of money? Can such notes be constituted a legitimate circulating medium, having a defined legal value? If they can, then such notes must be available to fulfil all contracts (not expressly excepted) solvable in money, without reference to the time when the contracts were made. Hence it is not strange that those who hold the legal-tender acts unconstitutional when applied to contracts made before February, 1862, find themselves compelled also to hold that the acts are invalid as to debts contracted after that time, and to hold that both classes of debts alike can be discharged only by gold and silver coin."

Can "the fundamental question" be stated clearer than this, or the English language used stronger or in terms more distinct? It is this fundamental question that the Court decided in the affirmative. The opinion of the Court is a very able one, examining all the arguments and authorities pro and con. The case was decided in 1870, after repeated arguments by the ablest counsel in the country and by a full bench. There is not one word in the decision that puts it on the ground of a war-power, or only to be exercised in time of war. The acts were enacted during the war, and the money created exercised a powerful influence on the war. But it places the exercise of the power as a necessary and incidental one to the emission of bills of credit, Treasury or bank notes, to circulate as money, which the Court had previously decided was a constitutional prerogative of Congress, in *Veazie Bank v. Fenn* (8 Wallace, 533). And, as the Constitution is silent as to what the Government may make a legal tender, even as to coin, the whole power results as a necessary incident of the other delegated powers, over the entire circulating medium.

The Court say, on p. 544 (12 Wallace), referring to the above case in 8 Wallace :

"It is not easy to see why if State bank notes can be taxed out of existence, for the purposes of indirectly making United States notes more convenient and *useful for commercial purposes*, the same end may not be secured by making them a legal tender."

Further, "They claim that the clause which conferred upon Congress power 'to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin,' contains an implication that nothing but that which is the subject of coinage can ever be declared by law to be money, or have the uses of money. If by this is meant that because certain powers over the currency are *expressly* given to Congress all other powers relating to the same subject are impliedly forbidden, we need only remark that such is not the manner in which the Constitution has always been construed. On the contrary, etc."

And then the Court gives at considerable length examples of the contrary. Finally, on p. 553, the Court say :

"But without extending our remarks further, it will be seen that we hold the acts of Congress constitutional as applied to contracts made either before or after their passage."

I might close here; but I will briefly refer to the concurring opinion of Justice Bradley, which has been charged as placing the decision upon the war-power doctrine, and an extract from which, often quoted and taken out of the connection of what is stated before and after, has misled many and I am glad to have an opportunity to correct it. In opening, Justice Bradley says, p. 554 :

"I concur in the opinion just read, and should feel that it was out of place to add anything further on the subject, were it not for its great importance." And on p. 567 he says : "I do not say that it is a war-power, or that it is only to be called into exercise in time of war; for other public exigencies may arise in the history of a nation which may make it expedient and imperative to exercise it. But of the occasion when, and of the time how long, it shall be exercised and in force, it is for the legislative department of the Government to judge."

In the other parts of his lengthy opinion he rests it upon general principles fully stated, as does Justice Strong, and not upon any emergency of peace or war. However, the above extract is clear, as Congress is the *judge of the "occasion" and the time when it may exercise it.* This is enough.

Respectfully,

GEO. H. HILTON,

CINCINNATI, May 6, 1878.

[As regards the extent to which the legal-tender quality added to the value of the greenbacks, Judge Hilton's memory seems to fail him. He may "smile," but the *fact* is that they began to depreciate

immediately after they were issued, until at one period, near the close of the war, it took \$2.80 in paper to buy a gold dollar. They rose and fell with the credit of the Government, just as ordinary promissory notes would have done, and it is difficult to believe that the simple promissory notes of the Government would at any time have sold for less than thirty-six cents on the dollar, which is all the greenback at one time brought. We do not say the legal-tender quality was of no value to the paper. In the first place, as Judge Miller pointed out in his dissenting opinion in *Hepburn v. Griswold*, it caught all creditors with debts outstanding when the issue was made, and, in catching them, expelled specie from the country. This gave the greenbacks a monopoly of the work of currency, and therefore in some degree strengthened them. The illusion under which Judge Hilton and a good many others labor, and have labored, is that when a government makes a worthless material a legal-tender, it catches not only the actual creditor but all who may wish to sell or lend afterwards. This is the fundamental fallacy of the greenback movement. But as soon as you have hit the existing creditor the force of your legal-tender bolt is spent, and your note becomes practically a simple promissory note, owing its value partly to the chance of its being paid and partly to its convenience as currency. Prices of all commodities, and the amount advanced on all securities after the issue, are based simply on the seller's or lender's *own* estimate of the value of the note. To the Government estimate of it, or wish about it, he pays no attention whatever. If people cared what Congress said on this subject, gold in 1864 would not have risen to \$20. This is, indeed, one of the best-known incidents in the history of legal-tender paper. The passage Judge Hilton quotes from Judge Strong's decision does not touch the question we are discussing at all. That question is not, Has Congress a right to issue legal-tender paper money at any time, and, if so, is such issue valid as regards previous as well as regards subsequent contracts? What we are discussing is: Has the Supreme Court denied the right of Congress to issue such paper money in time of peace, or has it only affirmed that right as a war right? On this point Judge Hilton has been far too sparing in his quotations, and has not, as it seems to us, by any means "probed the matter to the bottom."

The judgment in the two cases, *King v. Lee* and *Parker v. Davis*, which overruled the decision in *Hepburn v. Griswold*, was delivered in two opinions by Judges Strong and Bradley respectively. The former maintains the power of Congress to issue paper money and make it a legal tender by a variety of arguments with which we have here no concern. Its right to exercise the power in 1862 he shows by describing the circumstances under which it was exercised, or, in other words, the nature of the crisis which called for it, such as the existence of a civil war, "threatening the Constitution or the Government itself with destruction"; the emptiness of the Treasury; the impossibility of meeting the needs of the Treasury by taxation or a voluntary loan at home or abroad. The assertion that the money might have been procured in some other way he treats as "mere conjecture," and argues that the issue having, in point of fact, met the "emergency," Congress exercised a legitimate discretion in resorting to it. But he concedes that "Congress is not authorized to enact laws in furtherance even of a legitimate end merely because they are useful, or because they make the Government stronger." He "does not assert that Congress may make anything which has no value money." "What we do assert," he says, "is that Congress has power to enact that the Government promises to pay shall be, *for the time being*, equivalent in value to the representative of value determined by the coinage acts. . . . It is, then, a mistake to regard the legal-tender acts as either fixing a standard of value or regulating money values, or making that money which has no intrinsic value."

Judge Bradley is still more explicit. After affirming the prerogative of every Government to "anticipate its resources," by the issue of exchequer bills, and to make them legal tender in the absence of a Constitutional prohibition, he goes on to say that the exercise of this power

"is a pledge of the national credit. It is a promise by the Gov-

ernment to pay dollars; it is not an attempt to make dollars. The standard of value is not changed. The Government simply demands that its credit shall be accepted and received by public and private creditors *during the pending exigency*. Every government has a right to demand *this when its existence is at stake*. . . . "But it is said, Why not borrow money in the ordinary way?" The answer is, the legislative department, being the nation itself by its representatives, has a choice of methods, and is master of its own discretion. One mode of borrowing, it is true, is to issue the Government bonds, and to invite capitalists to purchase them. But this is not the only mode. It is often too tardy and inefficient. *In time of war and public danger*, Congress, representing the sovereign power, may authorize the President to take private property for public use and give Government certificates therefor. It is an indirect way of compelling the owner of property to lend to the Government."

From this he draws the conclusion that if the Government, instead of directly taking the property, buys the property from those who are willing to sell, and gives certificates in payment which the seller is authorized to force on his creditors in payment of his debts, "it is nothing more than transferring the Government loan from the hands of one man to the hands of another—perhaps more able to advance it." He adds:

"No one supposes that these Government certificates are never to be paid—that the day of specie payments is never to return. And it matters not in what form they are issued, the principle is still the same. Instead of certificates they may be Treasury notes, or paper of any other form. . . . Through whatever changes they pass, their ultimate destination is to be paid. But it is the prerogative of the legislative department to determine when the fit time for payment has come. It may be long delayed, perhaps many may think *too long after the exigency has passed*. But the abuse, if proven, is no argument against its existence."

We will here remark that Congress *has* provided that the "certificates" now outstanding shall be "paid" on presentation on and after January, 1879, and it is therefore plain that the reissue of them by Secretary Sherman will be made without a shadow of authority. He will be virtually issuing new exchequer bills which Congress has not authorized, and which are not called for by any public "emergency" or "exigency."

Judge Bradley further says, in a passage of which Judge Hilton has conveniently quoted only one-half:

"It follows as another corollary from the views which I have expressed that the power to make Treasury notes a legal tender, whilst a mere incidental one to that of issuing the notes themselves, and to one of the forms of borrowing, is nevertheless a power *not to be resorted to except on extraordinary and pressing occasions*, such as war and other public exigencies of great gravity and importance, *and should be no longer exerted than all the circumstances of the case demand*. I do not say it is a war-power, or that it is only to be called into exercise in time of war, for other public exigencies may arise in the history of a nation which may make it expedient and imperative to exercise it."

We think, although the financial discussions in the opinions are very foggy, that it may therefore be affirmed that the Court has, by a very strong implication, denied the right of Congress to issue legal-tender paper, except in "time of war," or of great national danger or distress, threatening the country with the loss of a convenient medium of exchange; and that the notion that Congress, when the country is furnished with an abundance of paper issued by banks, founded, regulated, and secured, in so far as their circulation is concerned, by the Government, and when peace reigns everywhere within our borders, can go into the business of issuing legal-tender exchequer bills to any amount it pleases, and to an amount which would probably be changed once a year, is unwarranted. We have italicized the passages in the above extracts to which we wish to direct the particular attention of "the Cincinnati Central Club."—ED. NATION.]

PRESIDENT HAYES'S HONOR.

"The Electoral Commission . . . delivered the country from a great peril, and Mr. Hayes from what was, or ought to have been, a great perplexity. It gave him as good a title to the Presidency as was possible under the circumstances, and a good enough title to satisfy all sensible men who cared more for the stability of the Government and the prosperity of the country than for the triumph of any political party. It not

only enabled him to take the place without discredit, but made it impossible to avoid taking it. It was awarded to him by as good authority as if Congress, instead of creating the Electoral Commission, had itself declared him elected in the usual way. The fact that frauds had occurred in any particular State concerned him no more in the one case than it would have concerned him in the other. No honorable man could accept the Presidency if before accepting it he was bound to satisfy himself that in every State in which he had a majority, the vote had been lawfully cast and the count honestly made."—*Nation*, May 2.

To THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I do not object to the political conclusions reached in the above paragraph, but its ethics are shocking, and it confuses the moral duties of Mr. Hayes by making no distinction between his obligations before and after the Electoral Commission.

The scamp whose title to his property is secured by his plea of the statute of limitations, or his minority, is no less a scamp because of the security which the law, for other than moral reasons, gives him. His title is good, but decent people give him a wide berth.

That Mr. Hayes, under ordinary circumstances, ought to have taken for granted that the election was fair, and was not "bound to satisfy himself that in every State in which" a majority was returned for him "the vote had been lawfully cast and honestly counted," may be assumed. *Omaia prasumuntur rite acta* is, perhaps, predicable of elections as well as judicial proceedings. But how when that presumption of correctness is rebutted and destroyed? How when honest men of his own party (Gen. Barlow) sent there by him reported to him that he had not a majority in Florida? How when honest newspapers (the *Nation* among others) told him he was not elected? How when every honest man in the country knew that the vilest wretches in the land were his election officers, counting, altering, forging, and swearing falsely for him, and that his friends, "the visiting statesmen," all since rewarded by him, stood by and silently or otherwise helped the cause along? Then one would say that the presumption of fairness which you invoke for Mr. Hayes hardly applies, and he was, if an honorable man, bound to do something. What?

It was not after the decision of the Electoral Committee that Mr. Hayes committed his crime. It commenced on the morning after the election, when Wm. E. Chandler, chairman of the committee conducting his canvass, telegraphed South that Louisiana and Florida *must* be held for the Republicans. From that hour to the time when the Returning Boards returned the fraudulent majorities was the supreme hour for Mr. Hayes. Can it be doubted that a word, a hint from him then on the side of truth, would have prevailed? Will the *Nation* maintain that it was not for him to have said that word then, in the face of what was notorious to every honest man? Silence, or what in the light of after events must be construed into worse than silence—acquiescence with knowledge—on the acts of his agents, is Mr. Hayes's dishonor, and no verdict of any tribunal on the question of his title, especially that of a tribunal which (properly, I think) gave him his title because it could not investigate the fraud, can wash out that stain.

When the public works of Pennsylvania were sold by the State to the Pennsylvania Railroad, corruption ran riot in the Legislature. It was barely concealed sufficiently to prevent legislative enquiry. Every one knew of it—what men's votes were bought, how much went into this one's pocket, and how that man managed it. Yet in a litigation arising out of it the president of the mighty corporation out of whose treasury the money came was able to swear that he did not know of any improper practices through which the legislation was procured. Are you of the opinion that the president of this road, much more the would-be President of this great Republic, from whose exalted seat no beams save those of the highest purity and honor should be reflected, can call about him the villains of his community, can show them the end he would accomplish, can fill their hands with money, and then say that *he knew of no unlawful means used*?

No! We won't deny his title. But let not the *Nation*, of all the papers in this country, say that the question of Mr. Hayes's title is the question of his honor.

J. S.

PHILADELPHIA, May 8, 1878

[We have not overlooked the distinction between Mr. Hayes's position before and after the decision of the Commission. We said very distinctly at the time that we saw no way in which he could take the place by the award of his own party simply—that is, by the proposed count by the Vice-President, backed by the Army and Navy,

and supported by the reports of "visiting statesmen." That scheme having been fortunately abandoned, we thought him, under all the circumstances, justified in concluding that inasmuch as it was not his purely personal concern, he being really the representative of a party containing a large body of men as moral and honorable as himself, he ought to wait and see what *both* parties would decide as to the best mode of terminating the controversy, and abide by the result. Both parties did come to an agreement, and arranged that the office should be awarded to one of two claimants in a certain manner, and it was so awarded. J. S.'s parallel about the statute of limitation fails, owing to the fact that "the scamp's" rival claimant never agreed to have the matter settled by the statute of limitations, or by proof of the date of his birth.

We confess, however, that we do not and did not look on Mr. Hayes's attitude during the count down in Florida and Louisiana as entirely satisfactory. He ought not, we thought and think, to have permitted the operations of the "visiting statesmen," and his conduct at that period has been put in a worse light by the rewards since showered on those "statesmen," and on members of the Returning Boards. We naturally think, too, that he ought to have paid more heed to General Barlow and the *Nation*. But when it comes to setting him down as dishonorable for these reasons we are met by serious difficulties which do not seem to have occurred to J. S. We do not feel that we have a right to exact from Mr. Hayes, in a time of tremendous popular excitement, a nicer sense of propriety than that which during that unfortunate winter prevailed among the bulk of the best members of his own party. We believe he was sustained in his attitude by the great body of the most honest and upright Republicans, and it was idle to expect that he would not be much influenced by this support in the midst of a crisis which put such a terrible strain on the judgment; and it would be unjust to heap reprobation on him for doing what a thousand honored and honorable men, whom we could name, would have done in his place. That the moral standard of these thousand was at the time temporarily lowered we do not deny, but it was lowered just as the standard of so many excellent men is lowered in war, when the end seems so tremendous that their sense of proportion is disordered, and any means seem welcome and even lawful.

It must be taken into account, too, that the consciences of those worthy Republicans who believed the Returning Boards had cheated Tilden were quieted by the equally strong belief that Hayes had been cheated at the polls by intimidation and violence, and that in the matter of fraud, therefore, both candidates stood on the same level. We pointed out frequently in these columns what we considered the objection to this theory, but we never felt authorized to denounce as a rascal anybody who did not accept our view. As an illustration of the condition of the public mind at that time on points of morals, we may recall the fact that we suggested as a way out of the terrible dilemma in which the country found itself in the month following the election, that any member of the Electoral College who thought what J. S. thinks Mr. Hayes ought to have known, and must have known—that the vote of Florida and Louisiana had been fraudulently counted—should, by casting his vote for a third candidate, refuse to consummate the fraud, so as to throw the election into the House and thus commit the issue to the regular machinery of the Constitution. That an elector who thought so was bound to withhold his vote from the conspirators, in the absence of any mode of reporting the facts to his constituents and resigning his trust to them, is as plain a proposition in morals as the Eighth Commandment. Nevertheless, not only did no elector think so—which is not perhaps surprising—but thousands of professed moralists, ministers, editors of "religious" papers, deacons, and what not, thought that the mere proposal that an elector should divert his vote, fraud or no fraud, was a shocking one. In other words, a mere political usage was more sacred in their eyes than one of the fundamental canons of civilized morality. In view of this state of facts, why single out Mr. Hayes as peculiarly and conspicuously feeble in his moral perceptions?—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

A SECOND edition of Tuckerman's 'Greeks of To-Day' has just been published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. On comparing it with the edition of 1872 we find that it has been revised to good purpose, though not thoroughly, and can now be praised with less reserve than formerly.—Revisions and additions, including a number of maps, have added much to the value of Leeds's 'History of the United States,' of which the second edition has lately appeared (Lippincott & Co.)—Sheldon & Co. have issued Wayland's 'Elements of Political Economy,' recast and freshened by Dr. Chapin, President of Beloit College.—Dr. R. S. Stetts's two public addresses on "The Early American Spirit" and "The Declaration of Independence," heretofore printed separately, have now been brought out in one elegant volume by A. D. F. Randolph & Co.—The following are among the latest Government publications: Vol. vii. of the U. S. Geological Survey of the Territories, 4to, being Prof. Lesquereux's report on the Tertiary Flora of the West, accompanied by sixty-two highly interesting plates of fossil leaves; the same Survey's Bulletin (vol. iv., No. 1), of whose fourteen articles we can only mention Sennett on the Birds of the Lower Rio Grande, and Cones on a Breed of Solid-hoofed Pigs in Texas; and vol. iii. of the Powell Survey's 'Contributions to North American Ethnology,' 4to. This last is a report on the tribes of California by Stephen Powers, and has a popular as well as a scientific interest, being well garnished with legends and excellent illustrations.—The discussion in which Prof. Dunbar had the last word is continued in the *Penn Monthly* for May, by Prof. R. E. Thompson, who writes of the "Use and Abuse of Examinations."—The third year of the Bowdoin College Summer School of Science opens July 15, at Brunswick, Me., and lasts six weeks. Instruction will be given in chemistry, mineralogy, and zoölogy.—The London scientific journal, *Nature*, begins this month a new volume, and announces simultaneously that it will be enlarged and that its price will be raised. This is a sign of prosperity which every one who knows the character of the paper, and its immense utility as a scientific medium, must rejoice to observe.—Prof. Ernst Curtius's 'Atlas of Athens' will soon appear, with twelve new maps.—A "Mazarin" Bible is to be sold in Paris, June 1; it is described as more perfect than the one which brought £3,400 at the Perkins sale in 1873.—Houghton, Osgood & Co. have nearly ready a volume of 'Memorial and Biographical Sketches,' ranging from Rousseau to John A. Andrew, by the Rev. James Freeman Clarke.—R. Worthington is about to bring out a new and enlarged edition of Lord Dufferin's 'Letters from High Latitudes.'—Fords, Howard & Hulbert will publish, May 22, Mrs. H. B. Stowe's 'Paganuc People.'—The obituary of the week includes, besides the honored head of the Smithsonian Institution, Miss Catherine E. Beecher, the oldest child of Lyman Beecher, and a prolific and useful author in her day.

—That which is inevitable is sure to come to pass, and "cultured" Boston may thank the committee of divines and other well-intentioned men who set up and support Joseph Cook, for *un mauvais quart d'heure*, very amusing withal, to which the *Saturday Review* treats us in its review of the Lectures on Biology. The title of the article, "Spread-Eagle Philosophy," is not amiss, and the inference that the lectures "show one what the metaphysics of Massachusetts are like, and the kind of style and of argument that pleases a serious American audience," is not unfair under the circumstances. Having noticed how these demoralizing deliveries were landed by a Boston audience with an unequalled amount of brains in it, the reviewer may well "wonder what sort of trash he could pour out before an audience which he held in less respect." The following hits the mark :

"Herr Lotze's philosophy," we are informed, "is the most brilliant, the most audacious, the most abreast of the time, of all the philosophies of the globe." *The most abreast of the time*—these words sum up the popular conception of philosophy. Who is the very newest man? people ask; what is the 'last novelty' in opinion? That is the faith to run after, just as the last hideous color is the most fashionable. People seem to think that Herr Lotze, or Herr Haeckel, or Mr. Huxley has found something out that proves or disproves the mysterious and eternal questions. If we have loops at the end of our nerves all is well; there is a God and a future life. If the horse is descended from a pony no bigger than a fox, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. The last speaker is sure to know best; the most recent work on the microscope contains the secret of the universe."

—Whoever has enjoyed Zamacot's well-known painting, "The Education of a Prince," will appreciate the contrast afforded by the account,

in *Scribner's* for April, of the school-life of the young Queen Mere'dès of Spain. The story is told by one of her fellow-pupils in a conventual *pensionnat* near Paris during the term 1873-74. The princess was a day-scholar only; her Boston friend, the writer, spent all her time at the convent. The gossip about Mere'dès is conveyed in a series of home letters, lively and graphic, and of unusual literary merit considering the age of the writer. Except in being addressed as Madame, the princess of thirteen was treated to perfect equality, and she eagerly courted it. She would not lend the weight of her rank to a movement to pardon an offender justly punished, in her opinion; she would neither head it nor join it at all, much as the culprit was wanted for a play in which a leading part fell to her. Other characteristic scenes are where Mere'dès herself submits to a just though humiliating punishment, and afterwards voluntarily thanks her superior for reminding her of her duty "to give the highest example"; where she tries to recite Longfellow's "Psalm of Life" and breaks down, and sits down as if the earth had swallowed her up, in mortification; and where she avoids taking the honor of a purple ribbon because she thinks she does not deserve it. These incidents speak well for her conscientious disposition and careful training. One curious family custom is reported on her authority. The youthful Montpensiers are never allowed to retire for the night without receiving their father's blessing, and usually they keep very early hours. Sometimes, however, "when their father is off with the hunt he is delayed till nearly midnight; but, instead of undressing, the children stay down-stairs and take naps in chairs till he gets back. . . . When the father comes home they just wake up enough to receive his embrace and blessing, and get off to bed as fast as they can." Besides what this article ("A Queen at School") has to tell of its immediate subject, it may be recommended for its spirited pictures of religious *pension* life. Extremes seem to meet when we read a passage like the following, which suggests the ideal of co-education:

"After they had gone, *Horatio*, *Bernardo*, and I repaired to the dressing-room to get ready, studying our parts till the last moment, and Sister Marie N— flying round to put us in order. What a palpitation of the heart it does give you to have a pretty creature, with whom you are desperately in love, suddenly drop on her knees before you to strap up your boots!"

The *Sun* has obtained from Mr. Schuckers (the biographer of Chief-Justice Chase), and published, the protest drawn up at the time of the forced rehearing of the legal-tender cases by the judges who were opposed to the reopening of the question. This paper, corroborated in many points by a narrative of the circumstances written by the Chief-Justice, and now also published for the first time, was actually filed with the Clerk of the Court, in 1870, but was subsequently withdrawn from the records. It gives the following history of the matter: At the time of the legal-tender arguments the legal-tender question was involved in a number of cases before the court; in order to avoid the necessity of going over the ground several times, the cases of Lathams *agst.* the United States and Deming *agst.* the United States were continued on an order of Court that the question should be argued in other cases, and not in them. That these cases were to abide the result in the others was the understanding of counsel, as is proved by notes addressed by them to the Chief-Justice; beside this, leave was given to the Attorney-General to make an argument on behalf of the Government, and under this permission Mr. Evarts did make a full and thorough argument. Every precaution having thus been taken, the legal-tender question was decided in a series of cases ending with Hepburn *agst.* Griswold, in which the legal-tender acts were decided to be unconstitutional as to contracts made before their passage, by five judges to three; this decision was made in conference January 29, 1870, but the reading of it was delayed a week to give time for the preparation of the dissenting opinion. The cases having all been thus decided, Messrs. Bradley and Strong were made members of the court, and "within two days after this change had been effected, the Attorney-General (Judge Hoar) moved that these two cases, which had been passed under the order already stated, be set down for argument, and suggested that the legal-tender question might be reconsidered in them." "And then," the protest continues, "for the first time we heard it insisted that the legal-tender question had not been argued and decided in those identical cases, and might therefore be reargued in them." But, besides the objection to reargument arising from the fact that the understanding had been all along that the Lathams and Deming cases should abide the result in the others, there was in force a rule of court announced in 1852, and "very recently reiterated," to the effect that no reargument could be granted in any case "unless a member of the court who concurred in the judgment desired it." Notwith-

standing all this the reargument was ordered by a vote of five to four, the majority being secured by the union of the two new judges with the minority. Considering that it was known in advance almost certainly how these new judges would vote, it would require a good deal of evidence, after the publication of this document, to refute the charge that the court was "packed" to obtain a reversal.

—Calmann Lévy has published Emile Augier's plays in six volumes. Augier was one of the followers of Ponsard in the reaction against the Romantic school that began about 1843. His first play "La eiguë" had a Greek story: it was as bright as Ponsard's "Lucrèce" was austere. He soon turned to the comedy of contemporary manners, but so long as he wrote in verse it was evident that the Greeks and the poets of the seventeenth century had all his admiration; and even in his prose comedies there is that restraint and absence of passion and sensation that becomes a disciple at once of the classic school and the "school of good sense." Many of the plays seem in some respects more like novels than dramas. The movement is a little slow, the action is peaceable, there is a certain want of force to which we are not accustomed on the stage. Nevertheless, almost every one has been warmly applauded, and they are excellent reading, with their graceful versification, sparkling dialogue, and most ingenious studies of character. Some of the comedies that are highly esteemed by the French critics—and indeed, so far as their words go, have little that is objectionable—offend American sensibilities by their subject. Naturally the pieces "qui relèvent une plaie sociale" are not altogether agreeable reading. But the following can be recommended to any one: "L'habit vert," "Ceinture dorée," "La pierre de touche," "Un beau mariage," "Maitre Guérin," "Lions et renards," "Le postscriptum," and, less unreservedly, "Philiberte." Augier has just brought out a new five-act comedy, "Les Fourchats bâti," with success that his election to the Academy is thought to be assured.

—All students of Spanish literature and all lovers of the sonnet doubtless remember the celebrated "Sonnet to Violante" in Lope de Vega's comedy, "Niña de Plata." In it the poet bewails his inability to obey his mistress's request to rhyme her fourteen lines, and so bewailing and half unconscious, as it were, achieves the task. The idea has been imitated many times and in many languages; in Italian by Marino; in French by Voiture, who adopts the "rondeau" form instead of the sonnet. In Lord Holland's "Life of Lope de Vega" (London, 1817) is an English version by Edwards, and this French one by Regnier Desmarques:

"Doris, qui sait qu'aux vers quelquefois je me plais,
Me demande un sonnet, et je m'en des-s'pire
Quatorze vers ; Grand Dieu ! le moyen de les faire !
En voilà cependant quatre d'jà de faits.
Je ne pouvois d'abord trouver de rime ; mais
En faisant on apprend à se tirer d'affaire
Poussivons : les quatrains ne m'etonneront guères,
Si du premier tercet je puis faire les frais.
Je commence au hazard ; et, si je ne m'abuse,
Je n'ai pas commencé sans l'avoir de la muse,
Puisqu'en si peu de tems je m'en tire du net,
J'entame le second, et ma joie est extrême ;
Car des vers commandés, j'achève le treizième ;
Comptez s'ils sont quatorze, et voilà le sonnet."

In the recently issued almanac of the Paris newspaper, *Le Figaro*, is this somewhat similar sonnet by M. Henri Meilhac—a writer generally of sufficient originality not to tread in the tracks of his predecessors :

"Un sonnet, dites-vous ; savez-vous bien, Madame,
Qu'il me faudra trouver trois rimes à sonnet ?
Madame, heureusement, rime avec âme et flamme,
Et le premier quatrain me semble assez complet.
"J entame le second, le second je l'entame,
Et prends en l'entamant un air tout guilleret,
Car ne m'êtant encor point servi du mot âme,
Je compte m'en servir, et m'en sers en effet.
"Vous m'accorderez bien, maintenant, j'imagine,
Qu'un sonnet sans amour ferait fort triste mine,
Qu'il aurait l'air boiteux, contrefait, mal tourné.
"Il nous faut de l'amour, il nous en faut quand même ;
J écris donc en tremblant : Je vous aime ou je t'aime,
Et voilà, pour le coup, mon sonnet terminé."

A neat English version of Voiture's rondeau, turning on the same point, can be found in Mr. Austin Dobson's "Proverbs in Porcelain." And while we are discussing this class of literary coincidence we may as well note that Mr. Bret Harte seems to have taken a fancy to Mr. Dobson's dainty "Tu Quoque," for in a recent poem the American poet has "lifted" the color and form of the English poet's Horatian verse.

—A writer in the Milan *Perseveranza* of April 21, 24, discusses the portraits of Columbus whose claims are worth considering. He begins by declining to express any opinion about a portrait said to have turned up here at a sale in New Orleans in 1865, and which he had not seen; but he clearly intimates his belief that it is one of those sophistications for which the special word "humbug" has been devised. The portrait regarded as

most genuine, he says, is that attributed to Antonio del Rincon, the favorite court-painter of Ferdinand and Isabella, whose portraits by him are still preserved at Toledo. This artist died at Seville in 1500. After enumerating the several likenesses reproduced by De Bry; that attributed to Parmigianino and preserved in the National Museum at Naples, which was accepted by Prescott; Colendi's engraving from an old anonymous portrait in the family of Colombo of Cuccaro: the niello (after an original design by Stradano) copied by Paul Lacroix in vol. i. of his 'Les Arts au Moyen Age,' and others, the writer gives his reason for thinking that the miniature of Saint Christopher at the head of De la Cosa's Map of the New World (1500) may be intended to represent Columbus. If so, the likeness might be allowed a place amongst the most probable, seeing that John De la Cosa accompanied Columbus as pilot in his second voyage (1493), which the map delineates. This idea has occurred to others, e.g., Ferdinand Denis; and Michael Colin's edition of Herrera's 'Novus Orbis' (Amsterdam, 1623) has a portrait of Columbus which appears to be De la Cosa's St. Christopher enlarged.

—We feel that we are doing those of our readers who are especially devoted to the study of the Greek language, and are sufficiently familiar with German to use the book to advantage, a service by calling their attention to J. H. Heinrich Schmidt's 'Synonymik der griechischen Sprache,' the first volume of which came out not much more than a year and a half ago, and the second volume of which appeared recently. We might be surprised at the fact that works on Greek synonyms are so rare, although the subject is one of such great importance, especially in the case of a language whose vocabulary is so copious and at the same time full of such delicate distinctions of meaning, if we did not know the extraordinary difficulty of the task, and the almost total absence of preparatory monographs by uniting, improving, and enlarging which a comprehensive work on Greek synonyms might be formed. Something in this direction has, indeed, been done—observations as to synonyms are found scattered over the whole field of Greek philological literature; but this is the first time that the subject has been treated on so extensive a scale, with so scientific a method, and with proper, not excessive, attention to comparative philology as far as it bears on Greek etymology. The author promises to give us the third volume at no very distant date, and immediately afterwards to prepare a comparative manual of Greek and Latin synonyms for the use of schools.

—From German papers we gather the following statistics concerning the number of students at their principal universities during the past winter :

	THEOLOGY.		LAW.	MEDICINE.	"PHILOSOPHY."	
	Evang.	Cath.				
Berlin	168	—	1,158	345	1,163	2,834
Bonn	50	80	219	126	375	895
Breslau	49	52	432	108	552	1,253
Erlangen	133	—	—	51	110	154
Freiburg	—	41	77	143	70	331
Gießen	20	—	83	61	130	294
Göttingen	86	—	275	115	433	969
Greifswald	43	—	73	218	126	460
Königsberg	42	—	174	134	366	655
Leipzig	339	—	1,067	305	1,263	3,334
Marburg	51	—	—	85	100	179
Strasburg	49	—	—	156	147	275
Tübingen	215	108	256	222	145	946
Würzburg	—	135	92	421	274	922

These figures are at least interesting as showing the continued prosperity of the Leipzig University, and that Berlin promises to regain something of its former numerical glory. At Leipzig there has been a pretty regular growth, the figures for the summer semester of 1872 being, for example, 2,315, while for that of 1877 they were 2,842. Berlin, on the other hand, has shown a curious fluctuation, due, perhaps, in a measure to the hard times and high rents; the number of matriculated students has been : winter 1871-2, 2,603; summer 1872, 1,990; winter 1873-4, 1,757; summer 1874, 1,609; winter 1874-5, 1,824; summer 1877, 2,237. There is another way of calculating the attendance upon the Berlin University, by including the students of several institutions who are permitted to attend university lectures. As this privilege is given to the *Bau-Akademie*, the *Gewerbe-Akademie*, and the *Berg-Akademie*, as well as to the training-school for the army medical service, and those permitted to attend lectures without matriculation, the teaching influence of the University is represented by adding from 1,000 to 1,500 to the number of matriculated students, resulting this past winter in the handsome number of 4,386, the corresponding sum for last summer being

4,311. At Leipzig there are no such institutions to draw from, and the matriculated students form without question the great majority of the hearers of lectures, the number of those who are admitted to lectures without being matriculated varying from 100 to 125 only; this gives Leipzig for the past winter the number 3,163, that for the preceding summer having been 2,933.

RECENT POETRY.

[N some previous papers under this head it has been necessary to exhibit some flowers of rhetoric so marvellous as to excite a little incredulity among readers. It has been suggested that we must have invented them; that they never could have been seriously printed in books. If this distrust has been created by merely local and cis-Atlantic productions, it is hard to predict what will be said when the book under consideration is 'Elva: a Story of the Dark Ages,' by Viscount de Fignière, G.C. St. Anne, late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of Portugal at the Imperial Court of Russia, from 1870 to 1876 (London: Trübner). The very announcement sounds improbable and suspicious. Mr. Blaine, for instance, reflecting on the small size of the kingdom of Portugal, must be amazed at the daring of a mere foreigner who claims for himself so many titles to the square inch. General Badeau must be astounded that any one but an American consul should announce himself so loftily. The book was apparently written in Russia, by a Portuguese gentleman; the scene is laid in Spain; it is dedicated to an English lady, and on the closing pages there is a list of the author's additional titles and honors, as well as of his writings in English, French, and Portuguese. It thus comes to us as a sort of poetic International Exposition, and there is nothing left for Americans but to inspect it.

It was, perhaps, wrong to say that the scene is laid in Spain, since a large part of the action takes place in the atmosphere above that peninsula. Most of the *dramatis personae* are bewitched in different ways; they rise out of ponds, disappear through windows, ride magic coursers, and exhibit claws and cloven hoofs. One of them thus describes his parentage, and his parents' wedding :

" I said my father was a Jew—
His name is in Leviticus—
But he was then an incubus
When he my mother knew.
They met, and married near a bog,
Where hissed the snake and croaked the frog,
An owl black performed the rite,
While tempest howling chilled the night.

The nuptials graced an ape and bat;
There came a toad, a swarthy cat;
There squatted, too, the frog hard by,
Safe in its back the bone;
There coiled the adder, and its eye
The carbuncle outshone" (p. 48).

There is a good deal of this sort of society, and it is, on the whole, preferable to that of the supernatural performers who constantly appear in the book. The nearest approach to a human being is Elva herself, who is ultimately vowed to the fiends, in a rash moment, by her father. She is thus represented :

" Her beauteous face can well portray
The early blush of lovely day,
But ne'er damned spirit's hate!
Her glossy hair, so soft and fine,
Eyes which decorum shades—
Swimming in lymph more crystalline
Than dew on quiv'ring blades" (p. 21).

Allowing for some difference of longitude, the landscape scenery reminds one very much of the Michigan poem of "Teuchsa Grondie," noticed in these columns some weeks ago. Take, for instance, the following Homeric catalogue of localities :

" The sierras Dima, steep Leefandé,
Altub, Gorbea, and Ochandé,
Send forth their hardy denizens
Who meet, near Oca's base,
With those whom claim Durango's glens,
And mingling there in scores or tens,
A common way they trace;
While some in wherris forward urge,
The rest walk by Mundaca's verge,
Not far from Cosnoaga's side—
Which greets Astraeus' roral bride" (p. 52).

Here is a milder description, portraying cloud-scenery at nightfall :

" The mass crenated edges rolled,
And oft assumed a smaller mould;
The white its pitchy darkness sped,
And sapph'rine silver through it spread;
Then so diaph'nows was its sheen,
That twinkling stars athwart were seen,
Such vay'r stool had lightly pressed
Kind Mary's feet, I trow,
When she, 'mid cherubim, angelic blést,
Gave from on high some holy host,
Or her esteem in smiles expressed,
To rapted saint below" (p. 89).

But such peaceful scenes are rarely found in this volume. The author is in incessant motion : his headquarters are in the saddle, like General Pope's. In the first canto he gives chase to a mad bull, and in the last he rides upon a goblin mare, the vehemence of whose movements is thus described :

" They see a something leap the wall—
A fox?—a deer?—a horse? They call—
Whiz! driz! 'tis in their midst. Aghast
They scatter, or they fall. 'Tis past!
A mile away. The hedge is cleared—
Ere Echo ceased, 't had disappeared" (p. 153).

Thus rapidly, and thus regrettably, must we permit the Viscount de Figanière to disappear from these pages.

It is impossible to speak favorably of Mr. Paul Dyrson's "Goethe's Poems, translated in the original metres" (New York : Chrstern). The translator aims at a full version of Goethe's minor poems ; the intention is praiseworthy, but the utter want of poetic grace and form renders the whole effort a failure, while the meaning is sometimes so hopelessly perverted as to suggest a doubt whether the translator is familiar with either English or German. One would say, for instance, that it was impossible wholly to spoil the lovely little song of the child Mignon in "Wilhelm Meister" when she wishes to retain the angel-garments she is wearing. "So last mich scheinen bis ich werde," she says ; and Carlyle translates it *verbatim*, and yet gracefully : "Such let me seem till such I be." Mr. Dyrson drops all this innocent yearning, and substitutes the exceedingly prosaic statement :

" What I shall be I now am seeming."

Again, in the yet more familiar verses from the same book, beginning

" Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass."

he contrives to denude the poem of all its solemn sweetness, and to introduce additions of his own ; thus :

" Who never ate with tears his bread,
Who never by remorse persistent
For nights was kept awake in bed,
Does not yet know that God is distant.

" That we are born, and have desires
That lead us into sin, he suffers,
And wretchedness till life expires
To make atonement for He offers."

The last line, if intelligible, is misleading ; and the "remorse persistent" and "God is distant" are both added by the translator.

Mr. Henry Phillips, Jr.'s "Poems translated from the Spanish and German" (Philadelphia : privately printed) may be read to advantage after those just mentioned, and have a fair degree of merit. They are, however, disfigured by a frequent habit of italicizing important and even unimportant words, thus really affronting the reader's intelligence, and making what is flat sometimes seem flatter, as in this from Von Zedlitz :

" I met a beauteous maiden
Whose thoughts were pure as snow ;
Her voice was like a mellow flute,
My heart was in a glow.

" Her words were full of wisdom,
Her soul, of feelings strong ;
She seemed a perfect woman—
Though probably I'm wrong" (p. 71).

"Poke o' Moonshine," by Latham Cornell Strong (New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons), is written with more care and thoughtfulness than most poems of its class, but it has a most unattractive title and an Indian theme. No one has ever yet explained why it is so hard to make long poems on Indian subjects agreeable or even readable ; but even Whittier has not conquered this difficulty. Yet we prefer the rather tiresome simplicity of this tale to the jaunty air and sensuous themes of "Cothurnus and Lyre," by Edward J. Harding (New York : Authors' Publishing Company). This volume was written, as is stated, by "a young English bookkeeper, at present residing in New York, and composed in the scanty leisure of his evenings and early mornings." There is something modest and disarming in this appeal, but the tone of the poems hardly carries it out ; they seem intended rather to challenge the reader's homage than to win his sympathy. The main poem is a drama entitled "Ernest," of whose style this is perhaps an unfavorable sample :

" O maddening moon ! I miss thy beams to-night :
Enchanted seas antipodal pursue
Thy white and cruel feet ; for me, I shudder
At thy sardonic lights and awful shades,
Thy cold embraces and thy deadly loves,
Thy sterile cologne of illusive silver,
Mirage of limpid springs on arid sands,
And all thy meretricious comeliness" (p. 26).

This dramatic poem has a modern English theme, and is crammed with horrors ; it may have some strength behind the crudeness, but it is hard to tell. The eighteen "odes" which follow seem to aim at a Horatian flavor, but that is all which can be said for them.

"The Viking, Guy, Legend of the Moxahala, and Other Poems," by Charles Edgar Spencer (Philadelphia : Lippincott), is a thick volume of beautifully-printed verses, which give an impression of great ease and volubility in rhyming, and of a ready imitativeness. The reflection of various authors greets us in turning the pages, and among these is that of the most dangerous of all models, Poe. The poem "Oulanepetes" contains fourteen stanzas in the following strain :

" I remember—and thus am I cursed,
O how sweet were a Lethean measure
To deaden the memory of Pleasure
When the bright-tinted bubble is burst !
When dreams that, while *dreaming*,
Seem teeming
With bliss,
Are no more ;
Ah ! why are we doom'd to deplore
That *something* we ever shall miss?" (p. 195).

The flavor of Poe being thus dangerous, it seems a relief to turn to a poet who prefers that of Aldrich. Mr. Edgar Fawcett dedicates his "Fantasy and Passion" (Boston : Roberts Bros.) to this older poet, and has before now taken pains, in other ways, to show his fidelity to his friend. Such loyalty is to be respected, but it is self-limiting ; a man usually names his standard in his dedication. However pleasing may be the poems of Mr. Aldrich, it will hardly be asserted that they show enough of wealth or vigor to allow of much dilution, and imitation must almost inevitably dilute. The result is what we should expect—where Mr. Aldrich is weak, Mr. Fawcett is weaker ; where Mr. Aldrich seems a little over-dainty, Mr. Fawcett is simply spasmodic. What other epithet can be given to a verse like this, from the poem on "The Winds" ?

" Here grouped in superb frigidity
The blasts of the North repose,
Proud spirits of stern intrepidity
Whose wings with clangors unclose,
In their saturnine eyes crepuscular
Cold hatreds bitterly glow ;
In the girth of their dark arms muscular
Lie shipwreck, ruin, and woe !" (p. 120).

There is one trait in which Mr. Fawcett especially reminds us of his friend : the frequent selection of too large a canvas for some slight and delicate thought. "The White Rose Lover" is one of Mr. Aldrich's prettiest conceits, and it is hammered out into four verses only ; but it would be still better in two. Thus Mr. Fawcett, wandering in a neglected garden, sees in fancy the encroaching weeds as an insurgent mob and the one white rose as a fair young queen. It is a genuinely poetic motive ; Heine would have crystallized it into two short verses, and Browning into a line and a half, but it takes Mr. Fawcett twenty-four lines, and before he is half through the material is exhausted. The same defect marks many of the "fantasy" poems—too much elaboration for the thought ; while in the verses of passion the reader has a constant suspicion that the poet is nourishing, encouraging, and, so to say, pumping up his emotions. The simple fact that out of the hundred and twenty-five poems in this volume all but seven end with exclamation points, awakens a suspicion of their genuineness. The volcano does not need to erect guide-posts to show where the lava flows. There is so much of this attitudinizing, and so much of the repulsive, in Mr. Fawcett's pages that the reader is often in doubt whether to recognize him as a poet at all, were it not that he sometimes consents to show himself tender and strong and self-restrained, as in this :

" IF TRULY.
" If truly thou art still the same,
Deep-eyed, soft-speaking as of old ;
If nothing strange or sad or cold,
Nothing that hints of tears untold,
Nothing that one might name or might not name,
Meeting thee after these flown years be seen,
To mar the accustomed sweetness of thy mien,
Then surely 'tis not mine to chide
Harsh fate, being satisfied !

" IF truly thou art happy, this
Alone suffices, love, to me !
If all that I might ever be
That other now has grown ; if he
Awakes the pure deep thrills of utter bliss
I had believed one only could awake ;
If he has found the secret that can make
Thy days to music glide
Enough ! I am satisfied !!" (p. 63).

LORD MELBOURNE.*

WHEN the Whigs offered Sir Walter Scott the use of a frigate to convey him to the Mediterranean, he "exclaimed that things were still in the hands of gentlemen." The words, though only the expression of personal feeling, precisely hit off a striking peculiarity of the peaceful

* Memoirs of the Right Honorable William, second Viscount Melbourne. By W. M. Torrens. New York : Macmillan & Co.

revolution carried through by the authors of the Reform Bill. The control of a democratic movement remained throughout "in the hands of gentlemen." Of the gentlemanlike aspect of the Whig revolution Lord Melbourne was the representative. He was in every fibre a gentleman and a man of fashion. He had the knowledge of the world, the coolness, the easy temper, the agreeable manners, the suavity, and the wit which secure and deserve social success. He possessed just that kind of cultivation and interest in intellectual pursuits which adds weight and distinction to social talents. He held power for at least as long a period as any Minister who has been in office since 1830. He lived at a period of great changes and keen party feeling ; yet even now he is remembered, as far as he is remembered at all, not like Brougham for his marked personality, not like Lord Russell for his connection with great measures, not even like Palmerston for remarkable administrative powers, but for *mots*, such as the well-known "Can't you leave it alone ?" or "I wish I were as cocksure of anything as Tom Macaulay is of everything," which have much more connection with knowledge of life than with statesmanship. So slight, indeed, is the impression which he has made on the minds of his countrymen that such permanent fame as he will possess arises from Sydney Smith's picture of his manner :

"Our viscount," writes the Whig reviewer, "is somewhat of an impostor. Instead of being the ignorant man he pretends to be, before he meets the deputation of tallow-chandlers in the morning he sits up half the night talking with —— about melting and skimming, and then, although he has acquired knowledge enough to work off a whole vat of prime Leicestershire fallow, he pretends next morning not to know the difference between a dip and a mould. I, moreover, believe him to be conscientiously alive to the good or evil that he is doing ; but if you have no mind to put or be put to, the sooner you get out of his way the better."

The eight hundred pages of Mr. McCullagh Torrens's turgid rhetoric will not convey to the reader half so vivid an idea of the patriotic *pocourante* who presided over the English Government at a most critical period as may be derived from the ten or twelve lines of Sydney Smith's banter. When we add to this the fact, mentioned by a reviewer who apparently knew the viscount, that not one of Lord Melbourne's best remarks can be quoted without a free use of expletives which the taste or the religious sentiment of modern times condemns, we may form some idea of the character of the man of fashion who, with all the talents which fitted him to shine in the society that gathered round George the Fourth when the Regent still affected to care for wit, was destined to guide England through the transition period which divides the aristocratic Toryism of Lord Liverpool and Lord Eldon from the Conservatism of Peel or the closely-allied Liberalism of Cobden.

The first feeling which arises in the mind of an historical student who weighs impartially the talents and the career of Lord Melbourne is curiosity to ascertain what was the force or fate which placed an easygoing man of the world at the head of affairs at a time of vehement party feeling. The answer is not far to seek. The power which made Melbourne Prime Minister was the same power which took Lord Althorp from his hunters and his prize-fighters and set him to make budgets. This power was the House of Commons. Macaulay has written pages to show that, as eloquence governs Parliament, the tendency of parliamentary government is to place men in office simply because of their capacity for speaking. Lord Russell has retorted with considerable effect that the House of Commons has again and again refused to follow the most brilliant rhetoricians, and has forced into power men who abhorred office and who could not string together ten sentences of idiomatic English. Yet, while appearing to differ, these expounders of sound constitutional doctrine at bottom agree. Where Parliament is sovereign, qualities which captivate Parliament are rewarded by office. The eloquence which charms or overawes a deliberative assembly will not miss its reward. But an assembly is influenced by other qualities than eloquence ; high character, what people call weight, tact, knowledge of men, powers of management, or it may be talent for intrigue—all have their effect on a legislative body, and are certain to receive from such a body the honor which it can confer. Lord Melbourne floated into power because, without eloquence and without high statesmanlike capacity, he conciliated the liking and trust of the respectable and commonplace gentlemen who have seats in Parliament. That the men who have Parliamentary talents will reap the rewards of Parliamentary influence is almost too obvious a truth to need comment. The important question is whether the Parliamentary talents are likely to be connected with the qualities required in a statesman.

At first sight it must be admitted that Lord Melbourne's career does not raise our opinion of the capacity of Parliament for appointing fit men to high office. His glaring defects as a minister were patent to all zealous

reformers. Miss Martineau, after her manner, hated a minister who could be jocose even on matters of political economy. The man who could, as the story goes, say at the conclusion of a cabinet meeting, "Now, are we going to say that lowering the duty will raise the price of corn or will sink the price of corn ? It does not much matter which we say, but we must all say the same thing," naturally excited the abhorrence of a lady who believed that her economical tracts saved the country. We may be sure, again, that zealous Benthamites like Mill and his little school, who dreamed that they were revolutionizing England, despised a premier who was not as far advanced on the path of political truth as the ordinary Whig leaders, and who (it is highly probable) did not study the *Westminster Review*. All "earnest" persons (and between 1830 and 1840 earnestness was coming into vogue) must, in short, have condemned with more or less severity a leader whose apparent function was to prevent his own party from carrying out their own principles to their full length. Nor can the present generation, which has lost the passion for earnestness, and has got no other in its place, fail to see that Lord Melbourne's censors were in many respects in the right. He was not a man capable of forcing a revolution to its legitimate results. If a minister like Gladstone or Peel had guided the Whigs immediately after the first Reform Bill, he probably could have carried into effect measures which were only passed when the generation who in 1830 were enthusiastic for reform had for the most part gone to their graves. To expect, indeed, that a minister should execute with great zeal a policy with which he had no keen sympathy is unreasonable ; but Melbourne did not even take the trouble to give effect to measures of which he entirely approved. His intellectual liberality and his clear good sense made him averse to all intolerance. He saw at a glance that Catholic emancipation lost half its beneficial effect if the Catholics of Ireland were not made to feel that they were socially the equals of Protestants. He would gladly have opened every career to the ambition of Catholics, but he never ventured to give effect to his own convictions. Protestants were estranged and Catholics were not conciliated. The Ministry lost credit in England from the patronage of O'Connell, and at the same time by disappointing the just hopes of the Irish leader forced him into the advocacy of repeal. The half-heartedness of Melbourne's policy in Ireland was precisely paralleled by the timidity of his ecclesiastical policy in England. He was fond of theological speculation ; he sympathized with Liberal Churchmen ; but if he ventured to raise Thirlwall to the bench on receiving an episcopal guarantee of the historian's orthodoxy, no persuasion could prevail upon him to promote Arnold, who, next to Sydney Smith, had ventured more for Liberalism than any Churchman of the day. Lord Melbourne's prudence had its natural reward. The bishops he appointed at once voted with the Tories, and Liberal Churchmen felt no enthusiasm for the Whig Ministry. When at last the Conservatives returned to power the effect of Lord Melbourne's policy became apparent : the popularity gained by the Reform Bill was gone, and even Liberals looked with relief to the advent of a government ruled by a minister of undoubted capacity.

If the career of a minister who became Premier because he was a gentleman seems a satire on Parliamentary government, there is another side to the picture, and a theorist who wished to illustrate the sagacity with which popular assemblies instinctively discover the person who fitly represents their wishes, might find in Lord Melbourne a good illustration of his theory. His lordship's defects were patent, but his lordship's defects and his lordship's virtues met the requirements of the time. The Reform Bill had excited an amount of popular enthusiasm and aristocratic rancor which was full of danger to the state. The movement which produced reform had, moreover, outrun the wishes of commonplace Englishmen. The new electors wished to avoid both Tory reaction and radical innovation. The peril which menaced the nation was that, to use the slang of modern politics, the "era of revolutions should not be closed." An attempt to push the reform movement to its logical consequences would have suggested reactionary schemes for undoing the results of the Reform Bill. What was needed was that passions on all sides should be pacified, and Lord Melbourne was from every circumstance of connection and character born to be a pacifier. Violent democrats could not suspect him of treachery. Bigoted conservatives could not believe that the disciple of Canning and the companion of George IV. wished to overthrow the monarchy. The very complaints of his radical supporters reassured his Tory opponents. His passion for letting things alone enabled the nation to recover its calmness. His studious care to avoid offence, the knowledge of character which made him see that he could not trust Brougham as a colleague and could trust Wellington though an op-

ponent, soothed down the mass of personal irritation which always results from revolutionary change. When some one complained to Wellington that Melbourne was too frequently at the palace, the duke replied: "I only wish he were there always"; and these words probably expressed the feeling of all the more sagacious Conservative leaders, who knew that come what would Melbourne's conduct would be the conduct of a gentleman. In nothing could a prime minister's character be put to a severer test than in his relation to the young Queen, and in this relation Lord Melbourne, by the admission of his opponents, displayed all his best qualities. It is, in fact, as the almost paternal guide of a sovereign who was scarcely more than a child that Lord Melbourne (if at all) will be remembered. His tact, his kindness, his social talents, had all full play in directing the steps of an inexperienced young lady who, as far as age went, might have been his daughter. That he was the confidant of his sovereign without incurring even the suspicion of being a flatterer or an intriguer; that he gained her implicit confidence, and so exercised his influence as to obtain the approval of political enemies, is proof enough that he possessed gifts and virtues of no ordinary character. His best qualities were, no doubt, rather the characteristics of a great gentleman than of a great statesman; yet there are different kinds of eminence, and Lord Melbourne's admirers need not be ashamed of their hero if, to adopt the suggestion of Lord Houghton's, he is known among English premiers as "the last of the gentlemen."

Constantinople. By Edmondo de Amicis. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878.)—One of the effects of the modern facility of bookmaking is that whenever any quarter of the world becomes of exceptional interest (and never, perhaps, were more minds turned to one point than now to Turkey and Constantinople) there is a deluge of publications enough to frighten the stoutest reader. Only the exceptionally strong ones, therefore, can really claim attention. On opening the covers of the present work we find that it is translated from the Italian, and, more than that, from the seventh Italian edition. Farther information, from a high Florentine authority, tells us that

"Without any slight to other clever authors, it is the positive fact that Signor de Amicis is the most popular writer in the country. Each new book of his sells faster than its predecessors, and his last book, 'Constantinople,' has taken Italy by storm. His brief volume has reached the seventh edition in less than as many months, and the last, only issued a few weeks ago, is already in its second. This, for Italy, is an enormous success."

The reader will, therefore, enter upon his labors hopefully. The first general remark which presents itself is that the enthusiasm is very highly strained; in fact, to a degree which, in English or American hands, could proceed only from a very young person, and would, therefore, almost certainly degenerate into feebleness. But the Italian language has something child-like in itself, and the child-like enthusiasm shows not ungracefully in a mature mind. One is reminded of Macaulay's climax, "What the Englishman is to the Italian, what the Italian is to the Hindoo," and so on. Of humor, as we understand it, there is not much in this work, but one remark will excite a smile in travellers of different kinds. Some persons at the hotel had objected that there were no sidewalks, that the theatres were dark, and there was no place to pass the evening. "They had come to Constantinople," observes the author, "to pass the evening!" The horrors of the Turkish bath, again, excite him to a grim banter which, though of finer texture, has some flavor of Mark Twain.

The first chapter describes the arrival in the Golden Horn, and we can scarcely imagine a more vivid picture expressed in words. One can hear the captain warning the passengers over-night that whoever comes up late shall be thrown into the sea. One can feel the early fog which damps all hopes, notwithstanding the captain's assurance that it will rise with the sun; and then the lifting and the golden light which spreads over Stamboul and Galata and Pera and Scutari; over Saint Sophia and the mosques of Ahmed and Soliman and Mahomet and Selim, till the whole is bathed in the full light of day. It is curious to note throughout the book how the Southern blood rejoices in the full power of the sun. One of the first visits is to the floating bridge which crosses the Golden Horn, and furnishes the occasion for a description of the motley population which swarms across it, quite as vivid as that of the external appearance of the city. Then follow excursions through the city and suburbs—to the Great Bazaar, the Dolma Bagche, Saint Sophia, the Old Seraglio; through the respective quarters of the Greeks, Armenians, and Hebrews, with some account of each nationality. The dogs of Constantinople are almost as famous as the city itself.

We give a little extract out of half a dozen pages devoted to them, as illustrating a municipal administration which may make New York feel quite proud:

"Often in the night the peaceful citizens of Galata and Pera are awakened by the most diabolical noises; and looking from the window they behold a crowd of dogs leaping high in the air, whirling round and round, and beating their heads furiously against the walls, and in the morning the ground is strewn with corpses. The doctor and apothecary of the quarter having the habit of studying at night, and wishing to procure a week of quiet, have been distributing a little poison."

Four pages upon the eunuch have a touching pathos in their account of this most awful form of human slavery, and the traffic is still carried on in Constantinople with only a "hypocrisy of secrecy." The following is from the "Ramazan":

"It is amusing to plant one's self upon the bridge of the Sultan Valide a few minutes before the sun goes down. About a thousand boatmen may be seen at this point, far and near, going and coming, or sitting still. They have every one been fasting since dawn, are wild with hunger, and have their little supper ready in the caique, and their eyes constantly move from the food to the sun, from the sun to the food, while there is a general agitation and restlessness among them as in a menagerie when the animals are about to be fed. When the sun is half hidden they begin to take the food in their hands, while all with one accord turn toward the West, and stand fixed, with their eyes on the sun, mouths open, bread in hand, and joy in the visage. At last the fiery point vanishes, the cannon thunders, and at that very instant thirty-two thousand teeth bite off enormous morsels from a thousand pieces of bread."

The least successful parts seem to be those in which the writer attempts to recall the past glories of the sultans. We can accept his strong language for the things which he sees, but when he sets his imagination to dress up the past, we must beg to be excused. Still, when in making the tour of the walls he sketches the famous siege, perhaps the most momentous in history, by which the Christian Empire passed to the Turk, even those familiar with Gibbon will feel a new thrill. The architectural description also lags a little. Saint Sophia appears to have occasioned some disappointment and to have forced the visitor to whip his Pegasus a little, but there is a natural tone again in the admiration of the graceful and beautiful minaret, the Mohammedan substitute for bell-tower, and of the cry of countless muezzins, who are selected apparently for their sweet voices.

Though the book is of recent publication, the visit took place before the events which threaten the existence of the Turkish Empire, as is evident from the fact that the Sultan seen and described is the late Abdul Aziz, already become, what *Punch*, at the time of his accession, said of his predecessor, Abdul *As-was*. The analysis of character under "The Turks" is not mixed up, therefore, with attempts at forecast. It sets forth only the never-failing interest of this camp of Asiatic fatalists thrust into one corner of Europe. The closing picture takes us through the beautiful and historical shores of the Bosphorus to leave us in the gray mists of the Black Sea. The work of translation is very well done, though we notice here and there an idiom such as "secular," a word which both French and Italians are very fond of applying to trees, not as opposed to "religious" but in the sense of "century old."

Stories from Homer. By the Rev. Alfred J. Church. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1878.)—This little book deserves high commendation. It is another attempt to render Homer accessible to those who cannot read him, or who can read him only with difficulty, in the Greek text, and this purpose we think it fills most satisfactorily. All professed translations in metre have hitherto, however literal or however free they might be, resulted either in something stiff, awkward, and disagreeable to read—an "ugly likeness," not to say a caricature, of the beautiful original—or in something, smooth indeed to read, but so powdered and periwigged *à la* Queen Anne, like Pope's, or so mock-Miltonic, or otherwise so thoroughly English in tone, as to rob the reader completely of the flavor of the original. On the other hand, a prose version rendering the Greek as near as may be word for word, but ignoring its poetic tone, and straining with painful contortions to transfer to English the vivid, graphic, and melodious long compound epithets of the Hellenic epos, also fails utterly to give an ordinary reader any idea of the poet. Till the long-looked-for, really Heaven-sent translator of Homer comes (for it is rash to assert that no satisfactory version can be made), the best way for a mere English reader to get an idea of the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey' will probably be through such a book as this, where the poems appear in the form of stories, told in easy, natural English, which any child could understand and enjoy. Work of this kind has, it is true, been done

already, but Mr. Church's is far more satisfactory than any other attempt of the sort. He transfers the Homeric narrative into good, plain, easy English, which is idiomatic, without introducing a tone foreign to the matter, following the corresponding passages faithfully, though not too literally, but, of course, passing over large portions of the poems for the sake of keeping within the limits of his design. The semi-biblical phraseology adopted in many places is wisely restrained from being too pronounced. Above all, the *tone* of the original is carefully preserved. The naïveté of the epic spirit is faithfully given, its childlike repetitions and leisurely breadth of description are sufficiently indicated, and while the standing epithets and long compound descriptive adjectives are most sensibly omitted, the Homeric similes are reproduced with excellent effect. The secret of the author's success lies, we think, to a great extent in the happy rendering of these similes, in the simplicity of his English, and, most of all, in his writing in the true spirit of the epic, the spirit of childlike, joyous story-telling.

The tales from the 'Odyssey' are somewhat less carefully done than those from the 'Iliad,' and the retention of a few more words or of a sentence in some places would have made the story clearer. The author evidently understands his text well, and we have not noticed any slips in scholarship. There are a few annoying misprints, especially, p. 42, "Lycaon" for "Pandarus, son of Lycaon." The illustrations are selected from Flaxman's designs and are colored, the figures being given in red

on a black ground with an effect similar to that of the Greek, or, as the author calls them, the "Etruscan" vases. They differ, however, from the vases in the extensive use made of a yellow tint, employed by the Greeks on vases with red figures only sparingly. The same author is about to publish a book of 'Stories from Virgil.'

* * Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.

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